

# *The Bancroft Library*

University of California • Berkeley



EX LIBRIS UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA



JOHN HENRY NASH LIBRARY

◆ SAN FRANCISCO ◆  
PRESENTED TO THE

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

ROBERT GORDON SPROUL, PRESIDENT.

◆ BY ◆

MR. AND MRS. MILTON S. RAY  
CECILY, VIRGINIA AND ROSALYN RAY  
AND THE

RAY OIL BURNER COMPANY

SAN FRANCISCO  
NEW YORK









The Committee on Publications of The Grolier Club certifies that this copy of "The Boston Port Bill as Pictured by a Contemporary London Cartoonist," is one of an edition of three hundred and twenty-five copies on American hand-made paper and three copies on vellum, the printing of which was completed in the month of December, MCMIV



THE  
BOSTON PORT BILL

---







HIS MAJESTY  
GEORGE III



THE  
BOSTON PORT BILL  
AS PICTURED BY A  
CONTEMPORARY  
LONDON  
CARTOONIST  
BY  
R. T. H. HALSEY



NEW YORK  
THE GROLIER CLUB  
MCMIV

**COPYRIGHT, 1904**

**BY THE GROLIER CLUB**

*To the memory  
of the one whose researches along the by-paths  
of our country's history furnished much  
of the material used in the  
making of this volume*





## INTRODUCTION



IN the year 1774 the political situation in the American Colonies engrossed the attention of the British people, and Boston held the centre of the stage in the prologue to the tragedy soon to be enacted across the ocean, the curtain of which was to fall upon Great Britain mourning the loss of the best part of her American Empire.

Constitutional government in England at this time was considered by many to be existing merely in name. His Majesty, George III, had made himself supreme. The Cabinet was composed of men chosen for their willingness to do their master's pleasure, and the House of Commons was filled with the King's creatures, almost

two-fifths of its members being placemen and pensioners of the Administration.

Popular representation in the House of Commons was a misnomer. The great centres of population were barely represented. The County of Middlesex, which included both London and Westminster, was allowed only eight representatives, while Cornwall had forty-four. Of the five hundred and thirteen members of the House, two hundred and fifty-four represented less than eleven thousand five hundred electors. There were few seats in smaller boroughs which could not be purchased. The enormous sums known to have been expended in bribery and corruption by the Administration, in order to make the King's power absolute, had not only emptied the Treasury, but placed all England at the mercy of a Sovereign, whose love of power made him believe himself almost superior to the Magna Charta.

The newspaper attacks upon the Administration, for its faintly disguised attempts to stifle constitutional government in England, were no less bitter than the arraignment emanating from the pen of "Junius," which had appeared in the *London Public Advertiser* at intervals during the period from 1767-72.

The economic and constitutional questions involved in Parliament's American policy had

## INTRODUCTION

been for some years freely discussed in the press, and had thus become no less clearly understood in England than America, and a strong pro-American sentiment had been developed among the English people. Some were undoubtedly influenced by the fact that the curtailment of the American trade, arising from the retaliatory measures adopted by the Colonies, had brought much destitution to the manufacturing centres of England. Others took the stand that the system of personal government instituted by the King could be checked, only by America's successful stand in behalf of rights and privileges long enjoyed, but then in jeopardy.

Free discussion of both sides of the American question predominated in the columns of the newspapers. The editors gave much space to news from America, and lamented, that, owing to the government's practice of searching the mailbags from America, they were hampered in their efforts to enlighten their readers more fully on this all-important topic. The attitude of the newspapers, at this time, and during the war which followed, was thus fittingly described in "The History of British Journalism" written by Alexander Andrews, and published in London nearly half a century ago.

"With the exception of the Constitutional Society's advertisements, the melancholy strife

between Old England and her refractory children on the other side of the Atlantic, which divided households and brought bitterness and angry words into almost every home, seems to have involved the newspapers in no trouble. The tone they assumed was strong, decisive, even violent, but it was a sign of the times that, although the public mind was heated almost to combustion, they were allowed to scatter the most explosive materials about almost unchecked. Governments had discovered that the newspapers spoke the voice of the people, and that to put them down would require an army, not a few crown counsel. Neither could they be so easily put down when they gave up low and vulgar personalities, and wrote with that studied and convincing reasoning that is far more terrible. It is beyond doubt that, as the law stood, they wrote treason; but the people's sentiments, right, justice, honour, and religion were all treason to that fraternal strife: they spoke treason when they cried, 'Hold, you shall not murder your brother!' they wept treason over the dead of Lexington and Concord; they shouted treason when they rejoiced that cousins' blood had ceased to flow, and men speaking the same tongue had ceased to fight. Yet the guilty law was coward, for then treason was right and law was wrong."

Additional, yet neglected, evidence of the un-



popularity of the Administration's course is preserved to us in the cabinets of the print collectors, for of all the numerous political cartoons of the period published in London, but few attack the opponents of the Administration in England or America.

The craze for "humourous mezzotints," which kept engravers well occupied and English print-sellers prosperous during the last three decades of the eighteenth century, was in its early stages. The designs of many of these were furnished by Morland, Ward, Wheatley, Dighton and Edwards, some of whom hold high places in the annals of British art, and were scraped by many of the popular mezzotinters of the day, McArdell, Dickinson, Wilson, Watson, Houston, and Earlom. Others were both *invenit and fecit* by Phillip Dawe, William Humphrey, J. Dixon and J. Raphael Smith, examples of whose work are reproduced in this volume. In these cartoons, the fashions, follies, frailties and foibles, and also the sports and vices of every-day life were delineated and held up to ridicule. The scenes from the novels of Fielding and Smollett afforded pleasing subjects for the designer's pencil as well as the ostentation displayed by the "Indian Nabobs" after their arrival home saturated with the gold and vices of the Orient. Advantage was taken of the widespread knowledge of the uses

which this class of adventurers made of their ill-gotten wealth, to picture them entering Whitehall seated on elephants, and paving the street before them with showers of golden coin.

While apparently the function of these cartoons was to amuse, yet their real province was to ridicule and deride features of English life, which, if unchecked, would undermine the health of the nation. Hundreds of them were advertised under the heading of "Posture Mezzotints" at a price of one shilling (two shillings coloured) in the contemporary catalogues issued by the various print warehouses. The reasons for this designation, as well as for the size of the prints, 14 x 10 inches, inside measurement, are elucidated by the views of the old English print-shops (see illustration). This cartoon shows the front windows of the shop of John Bowles (one of whose cartoons is reproduced on page 157), each print appearing within its individual window pane—the kindly faces of Bunyan, the Wesleys, Whitfield and others being displayed above an assortment of the humorous mezzotints with which the rival print-sellers regaled their patrons.

The Act of Parliament which peremptorily ordered the Harbour of Boston to be closed to commerce on June first, 1774, and known in history as THE BOSTON PORT BILL, aroused such a storm of indignation in America that the thir-



Engraved by

Printed by

J. Smith

MISS MACARONI and her GALLANT at a Print Shop.

White, Macaroni, and his Mistress here  
 A better Characters in Britain never

To the vain Couple is but little known  
 How much deserving Ridicule their own

Written by John Bowles. N. Y. 1740. G. 1740.



## INTRODUCTION

teen Colonies rallied to the support of Boston and became united in their opposition to the plans made by the British Ministry for the subservience of local government on this continent.

In the following autumn and early in the next year Messrs. Rob't Sayer and J. Bennett, Print-sellers, of 53 Fleet St., London, put upon the English market a series of five of these humorous mezzotint cartoons, which, by their depiction of certain amusing incidents which had taken place in the Colonies, subtly and with sympathetic moral told the story of the causes, effects and results of this mistaken act of legislation. The information in regard to these incidents had reached England in the form of private letters from America, the recipients of which had allowed their publication in the London newspapers, thereby furnishing the designer with a subject for his pencil which was familiar to the print buying public of London.

A study of these cartoons (which are reproduced upon pages 83, 171, 215, 277, 317) discloses an extraordinary knowledge of the life, customs and political conditions in the Colonies.

Though unsigned, they are unmistakably the work of Phillip Dawe, a pupil of Hogarth, who, while lacking his master's skill with the pencil, inherited his master's power of exposing political follies in their weakest and most ludicrous

points. The qualities which Charles Lamb described as being peculiar to work of Hogarth are here present—the quantity of thought crowded into each picture, the extraordinary attention to detail, the strongly characterized faces and the introduction of children to give tranquillity and a portion of their own innocence to the scene—all bespeak the master's influence.

The results of the ingenious skill displayed, in thus utilizing the knowledge of amusing scenes taken from the political world in the Colonies, with which to ridicule the Administration's American policy, suggests another tribute by Lamb to the works of the great cartoonist: "We do not merely laugh at them, but we are led into long chains of reflection by them."

The uncouth garments, in which Dawe clothed his Colonials, in no way indicated a desire to ridicule the wearers, for, by exaggerating this distinguishing feature, he forcibly pointed out with his pencil what the newspapers bemoaned in their columns—that home industries were furnishing to America the necessities, the supplying of which had hitherto enriched the manufacturers of England. In addition to the series issued by Rob't Sayer & J. Bennett, individual mezzotints of similar character, which were put upon the market by their rivals, John Bowles, William Humphrey and Carington Bowles, are

## INTRODUCTION

reproduced in this volume. The wealth of material on this subject, in the form of political caricatures, engraved in line and etched, has not been drawn upon.

The great attention paid to detail in these prints presages a corresponding knowledge of American affairs on the part of the future purchasers. A thorough elucidation of the individual story told by each cartoon, and of the moral told by the series as a whole, obviously can be obtained only by recourse to the source whence the designer derived his inspiration, and the print-buyer the enlightenment on American affairs, which rendered possible proper appreciation of these eccentric political arguments.

Therefore, in unfolding the stories told by these prints the English newspapers have been searched with a view of presenting such intimate knowledge of American affairs as was possessed by and influenced the thought of both the designer and his patrons.

To describe adequately the sympathy felt in Great Britain for those living in the Colonies, it has been necessary to review, from the standpoint of the British people, Parliament's American policy during the ten years previous to the passage of The Boston Port Bill. For this purpose the columns of the English press have been lavishly quoted from.

Of the newspapers at my disposal the *London Chronicle*, which was made up of eight quarto pages and published tri-weekly, has been most freely utilized. Additional weight must be given to the evidence gleaned from its columns, from the fact that in all histories of British Journalism, this paper is described as a Tory organ. Other information has been taken from the *Middlesex Journal, or Chronicle of Liberty*, also a tri-weekly, which was started in 1769 by William Beckford, then Lord Mayor of London, and other citizens, for the avowed purpose of championing the cause of John Wilkes. Its editors spared neither energy nor ink in attacking the Administration's treatment of the Colonies. The principles of the paper, "LIBERTY MORE PRECIOUS THAN GOLD," were strongly expressed in the initial letter, which headed its columns in 1774, and is reproduced on page xi. The other newspapers quoted from, like most of their contemporaries, were vehement in their opposition to the Administration.

While perusing the columns of the British press in search of light upon the story of these cartoons the thought was constantly recurrent that many of these articles on the American question emanated from the pen of Benjamin Franklin, bearing, as they do, a striking resemblance to the literary style of those contributions



## INTRODUCTION

known to have been written by him, which appeared under various pseudonyms in the *London Chronicle*, *Public Advertiser* and *Public Ledger*.

No attempt has been made to cover completely, the history of the period to which the cartoons refer. Only such portions of it as manifestly impressed themselves upon the cartoonist have been discussed, the explanation of which necessarily has been given in the form of a series of monographs.

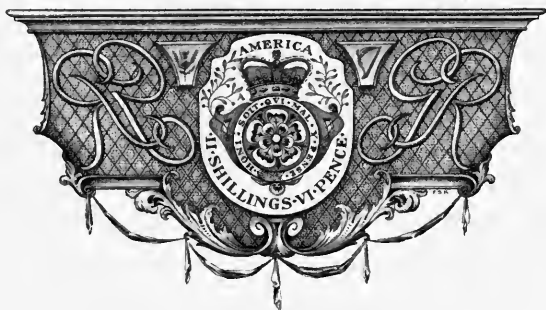
Every effort has been made to keep all the features of the volume contemporaneous. Contemporary portraits, views, and emblems appear in the headbands and tailpieces, the decorative motives of which are based entirely upon those used by our Colonial engravers. The insertion of views of our Colonial buildings in the initial letters was suggested by the practice followed by our Colonial editors. The binding, full calf, is stamped in gold with motives used by our Colonial book-binders.

I wish to express my appreciation of the courtesies and facilities afforded me in the various libraries where I have had occasion to work, my thanks to the many friends who have so interestedly and, at times, so labouriously assisted me in the preparation of the manuscript, and my gratitude to my friend, Mr. Francis S. King, for the painstaking and consummate skill with which

## THE BOSTON PORT BILL

he adapted and refined the designs, oftentimes rude, of our early American engravers, and yet preserved all the character and feeling of the period in the illustrations which are the feature of this volume.

While the typography of the volume testifies to the care bestowed upon it by Mr. Walter Gilliss, to whom the making of the book was intrusted, I wish to express my obligation to Mr. Gilliss for the judgment, taste, and unremitting zeal with which he personally supervised the carrying out of every detail connected with this publication.



## CONTENTS

	PAGE
Introduction . . . . .	xi
I British Opinion of the Stamp Act Legislation . . . . .	I
II English Disapproval of the Colonial Policy of Parliament . . . . .	49
III British Indignation at the Punishment of Boston . . . . .	123
IV London's Knowledge of the Activities of the Sons of Liberty in New York	177
V Virginia Defies Parliament and Supports Boston . . . . .	223
VI English Recognition of the Political Activities of Colonial Women . . . . .	283
Index . . . . .	323

## ILLUSTRATIONS

	PAGE
HIS MAJESTY GEORGE III. . . . .	Frontispiece
Engraved in mezzotint by S. Arlent-Edwards from a Wedgwood medallion modeled by Flaxman.	

### PHOTOGRAVURES ON COPPER

Lord North . . . . .	Title-page
Printed in colour from a Wedgwood medallion modeled by Flaxman.	
Miss MACARONI and her GALLANT at a Print-Shop . . . . .	xvii
Published by John Bowles, April 2d, 1773.	
Cartoon of Britannia in the Act of Self-de- struction . . . . .	19
THE WISE MEN <i>of</i> GOTHAM <i>and their</i> GOOSE . . . . .	43
Published by W. Humphrey, February 16th, 1776. Printed in the colours of the original.	
The BOSTONIAN's Paying the EXCISE-MAN, or TARRING & FEATHERING . . . . .	83
Printed for Rob't Sayer & J. Bennett, October 31st, 1774.	

# ILLUSTRATIONS

	PAGE
A NEW Method of MACARONY MAKING, as practifed at BOSTON . . . . .	92
Printed for Carington Bowles, October 12th, 1774. (Advertised as still for sale, in Carington Bowles' Catalogue of 1790.)	
A POLITICAL LESSON . . . . .	157
Printed for John Bowles, September 7th, 1774.	
The BOSTONIANS in DISTRESS . . . . .	172
Printed for R. Sayer & J. Bennett, November 19th, 1774.	
THE PATRIOTICK BARBER OF NEW YORK, or the CAPTAIN in the SUDS . . . . .	215
Printed for R. Sayer & J. Bennett, February 14th, 1775.	
THE ALTERNATIVE OF WILLIAMS-BURG . . . . .	277
Printed for R. Sayer & J. Bennett, February 16th, 1775.	
A SOCIETY of PATRIOTIC LADIES AT ED- ENTON in NORTH CAROLINA . . . . .	317
Printed for R. Sayer & J. Bennett, March 25th, 1775.	

## HEADBANDS, TAILPIECES AND INITIAL LETTERS

ENGRAVED ON COPPER BY FRANCIS S. KING

I Boston N Eng <sup>d</sup> Planted A.D. MDCXXX . . . . .	xi
A faithful copy (without the cartouche) of the emblematic vignette, 6½ x 3½ inches in size, on " <i>This plan of Boston in New Eng- land</i> ," engraven by Thos. Johnson, Boston, N. E., and published by Will Burgifs," 1729.	
II Initial Letter used by the <i>Middlesex Jour- nal</i> in 1774 . . . . .	xi

# ILLUSTRATIONS

	PAGE
III Stamp issued in 1765 for taxation- purposes in America . . . .	xxiv
IV Symbolical headband . . . . .	3
<p>Composed of the medal described on page 26; a design of a chain- ring, bearing the names of and linking together the Thirteen Colo- nies, which appears on a service of Queen's ware, impressed with the mark used by Wedgwood not later than 1769; the Tudor rose, thistle and harp, emblems of England, Scotland and Ireland, from the headband of a pamphlet by John Dickinson entitled "The Late Regulations respecting the British Colonies consid- ered, etc.," printed by William Bradford, Philadelphia, 1765; the cock, the contemporary symbol by which France's interest in American affairs was depicted; the "disjointed snake" with its motto "UNITE OR DIE" designed by Franklin in 1754 for the <i>Penn- sylvania Gazette</i>, and frequently used as a headband by other Col- onial newspapers ten and twenty years later.</p>	
v The State House at Boston . . . .	3
<p>Redrawn from the view of the "Boston Massacre" engraved by Paul Revere in 1770, and a painting done in 1801, now in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society.</p>	
VI Benjamin Franklin . . . . .	48
<p>From a medallion made by Josiah Wedgwood in 1775; enclosed in a border similar to that engraved by Paul Revere with which he framed a portrait of Cromwell on the bill-head of the Crom- well's Head Tavern. In the original "JOSHUA BRACKETT CROMWELL'S HEAD—SCHOOL-STREET—BOSTON" filled the space occupied by the legend "IDLENESS AND PRIDE TAX WITH A HEAVIER HAND THAN KINGS AND PARLIAMENTS," taken from the letter quoted on page 22.</p>	
VII William Pitt and America . . . .	51
<p>From a contemporary Chelsea-Derby Group in the British Mu- seum. At least as far back as 1742 the <i>Pennsylvania Gazette</i> used for its headband a crude copy of the book-plate of William Penn with the legend "JUSTICE" and "MERCY" in place of the motto "DUM CLAVUM TENEAM." Some years later this was su- perseded by an armorial design containing the same crest, the arms and legend. This in time gave way to the exquisite cartouche (here reproduced) which enclosed the arms of William Penn and first appeared April 12th, 1759, over the signature of J. TURNER, Sc.</p>	
VIII Faneuil Hall . . . . .	51
<p>From an engraving in the <i>Massachusetts Magazine</i>, March, 1789.</p>	
IX John Wilkes . . . . .	122
<p>Contemporary Chelsea-Derby Statuette; the symbolic border was suggested by the one employed by Paul Revere to decorate the punch-bowl described on page 113.</p>	

# ILLUSTRATIONS

PAGE

## x Emblem of the United Colonies . . . 125

The central portion of this, the Tree of Liberty, supported by the arms of the twelve Colonies represented at Philadelphia in 1774, resting on the Magna Charta and encircled by the "living snake" bearing the prophetic legend here given, appeared in the headband of the *New York Journal or the General Advertiser*, of December 15th, 1774.

## xi Carpenters Hall, Philadelphia . . . 125

From a contemporary drawing by Edw. Mumford in the possession of the Philadelphia Historical Society.

## xii The Governor's Palace, Newberne, N. C. . . . . 176

From a print in Lossing's "Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution." The most elaborate and beautiful of all of our Colonial public buildings. It was built of brick with marble trimmings and finished in 1770 at a cost of £16,000. The central building had a frontage of eighty-seven feet and a depth of fifty-nine feet and served both as a residence and state-house; connected with it by curviform colonnades were buildings used for the kitchen and servants'-hall, Secretary's office and laundry; the decorative motives in the border of the engraving were suggested by those in the headband of Rivington's *New York Gazetteer* in 1774.

## xiii St. Paul's Chapel, New York . . . 179

As it appeared in Colonial days, the steeple not having been added until 1794. The Arms of the City of New York, here reproduced, formed the headband of Gaines' *New York Gazette* in 1774; the elaborate border was copied from the one in the headband of the *Williamsburg Gazette*, where it enclosed the Seal of Virginia and a view of Jamestown.

## xiv The "New Jail," New York . . . 179

Erected in 1757, remodelled in 1830, it served since then for a Hall of Records until demolished during the past year. The contour of the building itself is based upon a print in Valentine's Manual for 1847, and the cupola follows the lines of those shown on the building in the Howdell (1765), Ratzer (1776) and other contemporary views.

## xv Statue of William Pitt . . . 222

Erected in New York in 1770 (pp. 28-32); this restoration is made from the torso in the possession of the New York Historical Society, and the companion statue which, in a mutilated condition, is still standing in Charleston, South Carolina.

## xvi Statue of Lord Botetourt at Williamsburg, Virginia . . . 225

A full description of this is given on pages 243-248; on the left of the oval frame is the Seal of Virginia, copied from that appearing in the headband of the *Williamsburg Gazette*; on the right are the Arms of Lord Botetourt, which were chiselled on the front of the pedestal, as shown in the engraving.

## ILLUSTRATIONS

- |  | PAGE |
|--|------|
| <p>xvii The House of Burgesses at Williamsburg, Virginia . . . . .</p> <p style="margin-left: 2em;">From a contemporary drawing in the library of William and Mary College, at Williamsburg.</p>   | 225  |
| <p>xviii Emblematic figures of Great Britain and America . . . . .</p> <p style="margin-left: 2em;">Both the bas-relief and its frame are reproduced from the panel on the back of the pedestal of the statue of Lord Botetourt; the honeysuckle and rosette motives are also found on the pedestal itself.</p>  | 282  |
| <p>xix The Bruton Parish Church at Williamsburg . . . . .</p> <p style="margin-left: 2em;">Erected in 1715; the chalice, paten (both 1655) and alms-basin (1739) in the panel on the left, formerly belonged to the Jamestown Church; since its abandonment they have been in use at the Bruton Church; in the panel on the right are the flagon (1766), alms-basin (1764) and chalice (unmarked), which were purchased for the Bruton Parish Church; and a two-handled cup and cover (1686); these pieces are fully described in "Old Plate" by John H. Buck.</p> | 285  |
| <p>xx Colonial House at Edenton, North Carolina . . . . .</p> <p style="margin-left: 2em;">In this hangs an oil portrait of Mrs. Penelope Barker, whose signature was attached to the agreement printed on page 314.</p>   | 285  |
| <p>xxi Vignette—Colonial China . . . . .</p> <p style="margin-left: 2em;">Consisting of Cauliflower, Leeds, Tortoise-shell' and so-called Lowestoft wares, and a soft pottery tea caddy decorated with two "Macaronies"; the gavel resting on the fan suggests feminine interest in politics.</p>  | 322  |

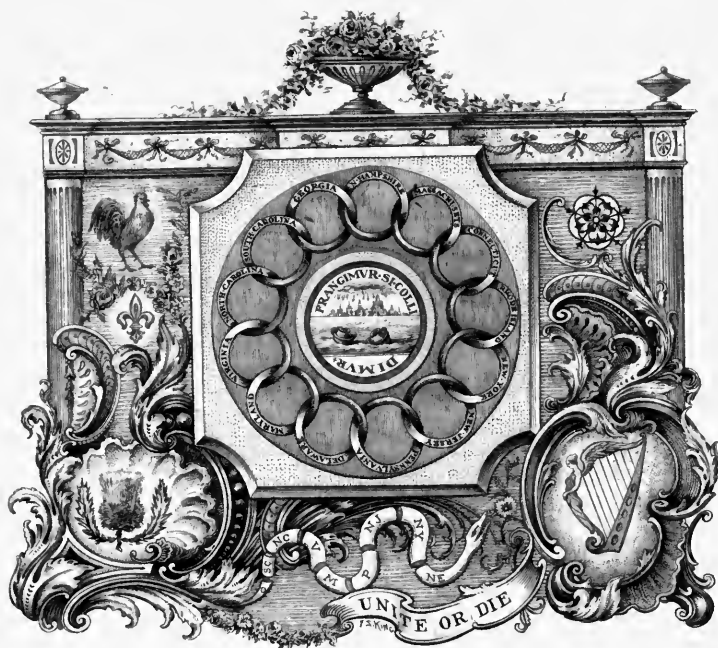


I

BRITISH OPINION OF THE STAMP  
ACT LEGISLATION

—





# I

## BRITISH OPINION OF THE STAMP ACT LEGISLATION



HEREAS it is just and necessary that a revenue be raised in His Majesty's dominions in America for defraying the expenses of defending and protecting and securing the same." Such was the apparently innocent phraseology, as it appeared in the press, of the preamble to the Act passed by the British Parliament in 1764 with which Great Britain started on her policy of colonial oppression—a policy which was only

terminated twelve years later by the dismemberment of her American empire.

The Seven Years' War which resulted in the loss of Canada to France had just ended. The question of financing the immense debt thereby incurred was a serious one, and the yearly budget placed before Parliament disclosed the fact that the maintenance of the royal forces in America necessitated a yearly expense of nearly three hundred thousand pounds sterling. To Englishmen it seemed but just that the American Colonies should bear a portion of this burden. While the object of the Act purported to be the raising of additional revenue from America, yet certain provisions in it tended still more strongly to confine the trade of the Colonies to the seaports of Great Britain, and threatened the destruction of the commerce which the American merchants had developed with the neighbouring French and Spanish possessions.

Up to this time England had interfered but slightly with the affairs of her colonies, and the sundry acts passed for the purpose of furthering her policy of securing for herself alone the trade of her American possessions had been but lightly enforced. The afore-mentioned Act, moreover, provided that the monies obtained by the duties therein imposed, be placed at the disposal of the royal Exchequer and that offenders against its

## OPINION OF THE STAMP ACT LEGISLATION

restrictions on commerce be brought to trial before the Vice-Admiralty Courts. Resolutions were also passed in Parliament declaring it to be the intention of the government in the next year to impose Stamp Duties in the American Colonies upon all newspapers, legal instruments, etc. Neither the Act nor the resolution which followed it met with opposition in Parliament or adverse comment in the English press. The statement contained in the preamble apparently justified both measures.

In America, news of these innovations met with a different reception. The threatened destruction of the magnificent trade whereby her merchants were exchanging not only the native products of the Colonies, but the manufactures of England for the gold and silver of their French and Spanish neighbours, portended financial ruin. The balance of trade with England was leaning heavily in favor of the latter, and payment for her manufactures purchased by the Colonial merchants had been only possible by the use of the coin obtained from the above-mentioned sources. The proposed Stamp Duty was disliked also for the reason that the people of this country, already impoverished by loss of the revenue derived from their commerce, would be still further drained of their scanty supplies of bullion, which necessarily would be forwarded to England in settle-

## THE BOSTON PORT BILL

ment for the stamps. In addition to the financial distress consequent upon the carrying out of the proposed measures, it became evident that certain clauses in the bill betokened a radical change in England's ancient policy of dealing with her Colonies, which up to this time had been left to manage their own internal affairs according to the provisions of their charters. An atmosphere of gloom and indignation pervaded America when it became known that two of the privileges which had been so long enjoyed there—namely, that of trial by jury, and the management of her own fiscal affairs—were thenceforth to be put in jeopardy. The impossibility up to this time of securing the conviction before a jury of their own countrymen of those accused of the offense of smuggling, was given as the reason for the insertion in the Act of the provision that offenders against the new law be tried in the Courts of the Vice-Admiralty, the Judges of which owed their livelihood to the King's pleasure.

The change to be made in the fiscal policy was contained in the proposal to devote the funds raised by the Act to the maintenance of a Civil List in America with its attendant dangers. Heretofore the rights of the people had been safeguarded, owing to the fact that the salaries of the King's appointees were largely fixed and paid by the Colonial Assemblies. The people of Bos-

ton were the first to scent the threatened danger to their liberties, and in May 1764, at their town meeting voiced their protest in a series of resolutions drawn up and offered by Samuel Adams, and instructed their representatives in the Assembly of the Province to urge upon that body similar action, and suggested the calling upon the other Colonies for united assistance. The dangers lurking in the bill were thus graphically described: "What still increases our apprehensions is, that these unexpected Proceedings may be preparatory to more extensive Taxations upon us. For if our Trade may be taxed, why not our Lands, the Produce of our lands, and in short everything we possess or make use of? This we apprehend, annihilates our Charter Rights to govern and tax ourselves . . . If Taxes are laid upon us in any shape without our having a legal representation where they are laid, are we not reduced from the Character of free Subjects to the miserable state of Tributary Slaves?"

The Assembly of Massachusetts-Bay, whose stately home appears in the initial letter of this chapter, acted promptly and forwarded its protest to the House of Commons. This action was quickly followed by similar remonstrances from the Assemblies of Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, North Carolina, and the House of Burgesses of Virginia.

News of the state of political feeling in the Colonies was slow in reaching the English people, for the press had up to this time devoted scant space to American news. To the great majority of Englishmen the forms of government existing in their various possessions, and the temper and traditions of the people were almost unknown. Exaggerated conceptions of the wealth of the American people prevailed in England, due to the stories brought home of the lavish entertainment and hospitality showered upon those who had held the King's commission in America. The Colonies were considered desirable possessions simply for the purposes of trade, it being recognized that much of England's commercial prosperity was due to the great and growing market they furnished for the manufactures of Leeds, Manchester, Birmingham and Liverpool.

During the year of the passage of the Act, the information given in the English press concerning the feeling in America against the new legislation merely reflected the financial depression caused thereby, and the determination of the people to counteract the same by economy and frugality. In an article dated "*Boston, New England, Sept. 1.*" the *London Chronicle* of October 16th-18th, 1764, thus described the situation in Boston, and the measures considered necessary for adoption nearly a month previous to the date



## OPINION OF THE STAMP ACT LEGISLATION

on which the new Act was to go into effect: "Some of the principal Merchants here have come into a resolution to curtail many superfluities in dress; and upwards of fifty have already signed a certain agreement for that purpose. Lace, ruffles, &c., are to be entirely laid aside: No English cloths to be purchased but at a fixed price: The usual manner of expressing their regard and sorrow for a deceased friend or relative by covering themselves in black, is also in the list of superfluities, and no part thereof but the crape in the hat is to be retained; instead of which, a piece of crape is to be tied upon the arm, after the manner of the military gentlemen."

Another letter which appeared in the same news-sheet nearly two weeks later described in the following words the state of mind in Virginia and noted the determination then forming to manufacture at home the necessities hitherto purchased in England: "*Extract of a Letter from a Gentleman at Virginia, to his friend in Bristol, Sept. 4.* 'Melancholy and uneasiness are visible in most countenances; and happy is the man that can keep his effects together. Tobacco is low, and grain of all sorts much fallen; from whence then is to come our relief? It can happen, in my opinion, only from the strictest frugality in our affairs. Hemp and flax are the two objects that are looked on, as if they would deliver

us ; and, so they may, in a great measure but something else is necessary. I am told the colony of Maryland has planted little tobacco this year, and I believe much less will be planted here another year. The acts of parliament have made such impressions on the minds of the northward people, and the men of war so strictly enforce them, that there is an entire stagnation of trade. Nothing do they talk of but their own manufactures. The downfall of England, and the rise of America, is sung by the common ballad singers about the streets, as if, in a little time, we should supply ourselves with most of the necessaries we used to take from England.' ”

Another letter from Boston, published in the same newspaper in the latter part of November, informed its readers that “ the disposition seems to continue in many of the inhabitants of this and the neighbouring governments, to cloath themselves with their own manufactures. At Hempstead, on Long Island, in the province of New York, a company of gentlemen have set up a new woolen manufactory, and have given notice to gentlemen, shopkeepers, and others, of any of the provinces, that by sending proper patterns of any colour, they may be supplied with broad-cloths, equal in fineness, colour and goodness, and cheaper than any imported: The proprietors gave good encouragement to persons who are in any way

versed in the woolen manufactures, such as wool-combers, weavers, clothiers, shearers, dyers, spinners, carders, or understanding any branch of the broadcloth, blankets or shroud manufactory.— There are many articles of dress manufactured in this government, which if wore would be a great saving thereto, particularly knit stockings, leather habits for working, shoes, &c. more especially shoes for women, which are made at Lynn, and exceed in strength and beauty, any that are usually imported from London.”

Practically all that a reader of the *London Chronicle* in 1764 could have learned of American sentiment towards the new legislation is contained in the above extracts. A great majority of the news items from America merely recounted the troubles with the Indians on the frontiers, maritime disasters and domestic news of no political import. The wisdom of the passage of the Act was considered simply a matter of political economy by the average Englishman. The constitutional rights therein involved were as yet unconsidered.

The Stamp Act, after strenuous opposition by Pitt, Barré, Conway and Camden, was passed by both Houses of Parliament and received the royal assent on the 22nd of March 1765. Neither the debates nor the contents of the bill appear to have awakened any popular interest. The few

letters from America which were published in the press during the first quarter of that year merely recounted the successful starting of industries in the various Colonies, with the following exception which appeared in the *London Chronicle* of January 15th-17th, 1765, and was the only reference in this influential newspaper to the fact that constitutional as well as economical questions were involved in the new legislation for the Colonies. The great masses of England were still not cognizant of the vital question at stake. “*Extract of a letter from Providence (in Rhode Island) Dec. 8.* ‘The general assembly of this colony, which sat here this week, rose last night; having first ordered an address, which had before been prepared by a Committee, to be sent to his Majesty: praying that our trade may be restored to its former condition; that courts of Admiralty may not have more extensive powers in the colonies, than the law gives them in Britain; that stamp duties and internal taxes be not laid on the people here, without their own consent; and, that the colonies be not any way deprived of their just and long enjoyed rights.’”

In the latter half of 1765, the questions at issue received somewhat more attention in the newspapers. A very lengthy and convincing exposition of the folly displayed in the policy of taxing the American Colonies and the damage

caused thereby to the trade of both England and America, appeared in the *London Chronicle* of August 15th—17th, and of August 24th—27th, 1765, over the signature of “MARCUS AURELIUS” and under the heading of “*A Dialogue between a North American and a Courtier*” and evidently attracted considerable attention. It purported to give an account of a debate which took place by appointment between a gentleman from the Colonies and a man of influence in Court circles. The discussion was conducted in terms of the greatest friendliness, and the issue of the debate hinged entirely upon the question as to whether the taxation of the Colonies was necessary and beneficial to the prosperity and trade of both countries. The debate closed with a complete demolition of the arguments advanced in favour of the taxation policy. The closing paragraph is here quoted for the purpose of showing the view of this ill-fated innovation then accepted by many Englishmen.

“*Courtier.* I am perfectly of your opinion, that an army in the colonies, and for the support of which these duties and taxes are imposed, is entirely useless, therefore with the removal of the one, the other ought to vanish. Besides, if the Crown collects the little money you have for taxes, the merchant here must go without it. This is already severely felt by them, and

the manufacturers have now neither orders for goods nor remittances for debts, and this evil it is apparent will be an increasing one, unless the cause of it is removed. You may therefore rest assured that I shall use my influence, and make my utmost efforts toward the repealing, or at least amending these acts, which I think are big with the most dangerous consequences to this kingdom, as well as to the colonies."

From this time on the tone of the letters from America began to change. Less stress was laid upon the paralysis of trade. The resentment of the people against the attack upon their constitutional right of self-government was becoming the predominant feature of the "American News." Accounts soon appeared of the events in Boston on the "Fourteenth of August," on which day effigies of the Stamp Officer and Lord Bute were paraded through the streets escorted by "a great concourse of people, some of the highest standing." The burning of the suspected Stamp Office, and the enforced resignation of the Stamp Officers were also described in the account of this day's doings.

The appended "*extract of a letter from Boston in New England*," written two days before the uprising of the Bostonians, called attention to the activity of the "Sons of Liberty" at Providence. This name was now being enthusias-

tically and rapidly adopted throughout the Colonies by those who were active in their efforts to protect their constitutional liberties. It owed its origin to Isaac Barré's characterization of the Americans as "Sons of Liberty," when speaking in the House of Commons against the passage of the Stamp Act.

"We hear from Providence, in the Colony of Rhode Island, that the Freemen of that town being lately called to confer on such matters as should appear to them necessary relative to the STAMP-ACT,\* whereby the Liberties, the darling boast of the English North American Subject, which was once deem'd indefeasible, must be greatly abridg'd, if not totally annihilated; they accordingly met for the aforesaid purpose, and unanimously appointed a Committee to prepare instructions suitable to be given their Representatives for their conduct in the next general Assembly, on this truly alarming occasion, and that they are to be laid before the town for their approbation to-morrow: at which time those Sons of Liberty are to convene again for the noblest of all causes, their Country's Good.—A proceeding this that conveys the most lively idea of principles nobly patriotic, and which will, it is to be wish'd, serve as an example to other

---

\*——'Instead of voted aid,  
Free, cordial, large, a never failing source,  
The cumbrous imposition follow'd harsh."

towns to exert themselves at this crisis, and to remind them, that they are entitled to all the privileges of British Subjects, as long as they are denominated such, to bear in utter abhorrence the name without the substance."

The same week brought advices of the memorable resolutions passed by the Burgesses of Virginia, an account of which may be found in Chapter V. News of the resignation of the Stamp Officers, both voluntary and enforced, followed in rapid succession. The English people were gradually being awakened to the fact that all America was aroused. A very clever series of articles on the American question appeared in the *London Chronicle* during October and November 1765, in which, over the signature of "RATIONALIS," the oppressions from which the Americans were suffering were discussed and attention was repeatedly drawn to the union in behalf of the common defense, then being agitated in the Colonies. The Colonials were lauded as being a people who "have a strong passion for freedom, which is here lost in a lust for pleasures the most contemptible in their natures; so that they idolize those blessings which from degeneracy we disregard. It can never, therefore, be wisdom in us to kindle in them a fire of patriotism in opposition to ourselves, which in its wildest excuses plain reason should convince us would



## OPINION OF THE STAMP ACT LEGISLATION

never be destitute of exterior support, as there is not a trading state of Europe which must not wish to see North America in a state of independence, or which we can rationally think would not contribute every means in their power to her establishment therein: such an event, as we may rationally conclude, being much more desirable to rival states to Great Britain than to the North Americans themselves, because with the downfall of her American empire there must become a complete downfall of our power and prosperity, as we should then have our chief pursuits to begin anew from the time of the reformation under tenfold disadvantages and with tenfold imbecility."

Other letters written by Englishmen constantly appeared in the press calling attention to the seriousness of the situation in America, predicting that at some future date the American Colonies, which were constantly increasing in population and each year becoming less dependent upon Great Britain, would be OBLIGED to cast off the domination now thrust upon them, and giving warning that England's old-time foe, the kingdom of France, would gladly give assistance to any such effort.

This line of reasoning filled many a column in the English press during the next ten years, and was well illustrated by a semi-allegorical mez-

zotint cartoon, a reproduction of which appears upon the opposite page. In it Britannia, seated on an island, is pictured in the act of self-destruction. Lying at her feet, and piercing a liberty cap, may be seen her spear—emblematic of Great Britain's war upon the freedom and constitutional rights of her subjects. To the right, and upon the mainland, earnestly watching this proceeding appears a cock, the emblem by which France had long been symbolized. The coming war with its attendant horrors was suggested by the insertion of the naval conflict in the background. Of the two vessels in close combat one flies the Cross of St. George, the other a flag which in no way bears resemblance to that of any nation then in existence.

The keen interest taken by the French in the controversy then raging was also alluded to in many a fable and anecdote, which appeared in the English press during the next few years, with a moral similar to that contained in the extract from the *London Chronicle* of March 22nd–26th, 1766, given below:

## ANECDOTE

“A young English Lord who was lately at Paris, having asked a French Nobleman of distinction there, in the Government of his Country, whether they had heard of the Commotions which the Stamp-Act had occasioned in North





#### OPINION OF THE STAMP ACT LEGISLATION

America; he replied they had, and were in great fears concerning them. 'Fears? *Nous craignons, que l'Angleterre s'accommodera trop tot avec ses Colonies.*' "

On November 16th, 1765, the *London Chronicle* devoted its opening columns to the following letters, which pointed out the mental attitude of Parliament and drew attention to the dangerous state of the public mind in the Colonies:

" *To the* PRINTER of the LONDON CHRONICLE.

" SIR,

" I make no apology for presenting to the Public, thro' the channel of your useful Paper, the following letters, as they contain the sentiments of two Gentlemen of acknowledged abilities and integrity upon a subject which is of the last Consequence to the peace, safety, union, dignity, and stability of the British Empire.

" Your's,            W. S.

" *Extract of a Letter from a North American in London, to his Friend in America, dated July 11, 1765.*

" " Depend upon it, my good Friend, every possible step was taken to prevent the passing of the Stamp Act. But the tide was too strong against us. The nation was provok'd by American claims of independence, and all parties join'd

in resolving by this act to settle the point. We might as well have hindered the sun's setting. But since it is down, my Friend, and it may be long ere it rises again, let us make as good a night of it as we can. We may still light candles. *Frugality* and *Industry* will go a great way towards indemnifying us. *Idleness* and *Pride* tax with a heavier hand than Kings and Parliaments. If we can get rid of the former, we may easily bear the latter. Our country produces, or is capable of producing, all the *necessaries* of life, the wasting *superfluities* come from hence. Let us have but the wisdom to be content awhile with our own, and this country will soon feel, that its loss in point of commerce, is infinitely more than its gain in taxes.'

"*The ANSWER, dated Philadelphia, 24 Sept.*

"'Yes, my friend, I grant that "Idleness and Pride tax with a heavier hand than Kings and Parliaments," and that frugality and industry will go a great way towards indemnifying us.' But the misfortune is, the very thing that renders industry necessary cuts the sinews of it. With industry and frugality the subjects of eastern tyrants might be wealthier than those of England or Holland. But who will labour or save who has not a security in his property? When people are taxed by their own representatives, though

the tax is high they pay it chearfully, from a confidence that no more than enough is required, and that a due regard is had to the ability of the giver. But when taxes are laid merely to "*settle the point of independence,*" and when the quantity of the tax depends on the caprice of those who have the superiority, and who will doubtless lay it heavier in order to bring down the spirits or weaken the power of those who claim independence, what encouragement is there to labour or save? The wealth we thereby acquire will be a new motive, which fear or avarice will suggest, to tax us anew. No wonder then if people will chuse to live poor and lazy rather than labour to enrich their taxmasters, or furnish matter for new oppression. There never was any mention of the colonies aiming at independence, till the ministry began to abridge them of their liberties. I will venture to affirm, and to you I can appeal for the truth of what I say, that history cannot shew a people so numerous, so far removed from the seat of Royalty, who were so loyal, so attached to their King, and who at the same time had such true sentiments of liberty, as the British American Colonies. How long this will continue God knows. The Sun of Liberty is indeed fast setting, if not down already, in the American Colonies: But I much fear instead of the candles you mention being lighted,

you will hear of the works of darkness. They are in general alarmed to the last degree. The Colonies expect, and with reason expect, that some regard shall be had to their liberties and privileges, as well as trade. They cannot bring themselves to believe, nor can they see how England with reason or justice could expect, that they should have encountered the horrors of a defeat, borne the attacks of barbarous savages, and, at the expence of their blood and treasure, settled this country to the great emolument of England, and after all quietly submit to be deprived of everything an Englishman has been taught to hold dear. It is not property only we contend for. Our Liberty and most essential privileges are struck at: Arbitrary Courts are set over us, and trials by juries taken away: The Press is so restricted that we cannot complain: An army of mercenaries threatened to be billeted on us: The sources of our trade stopped; and, to compleat our ruin, the little property we had acquired, taken from us, without even allowing us the merit of giving it; I really dread the consequence. The parliament insist on a power over all the liberties and privileges claimed by the colonies, and hence require a blind obedience and acquiescence in whatever they do: Should the behaviour of the colonies happen not to square with these sovereign notions (as I



much fear it will not), what remains but by violence to compel them to obedience. Violence will beget resentment, and provoke to acts never dreamt of: But I will not anticipate evil; I pray God avert it.

“I congratulate you on the change in the ministry: We hope for much good from it. For such seems the state of the British constitution at present, that from *them* we are to look for good or ill. Heretofore we have been taught to look for redress from *another quarter*. I am,

“Dear Sir, Your affectionate Friend, &c.’”

It soon became known that the two correspondents were Charles Thomson, of Philadelphia, and the popular Dr. Franklin, who was so greatly loved, respected, and sought after in British scientific and literary circles. Dr. Franklin was then holding the royal appointment of Deputy Postmaster General for the Colonies and at the same time was the duly accredited agent in London for the Province of Pennsylvania. His portrait, made by his friend Josiah Wedgwood, appears in the engraving which ends this chapter.

It was fast becoming recognized in England that the future of Great Britain herself was being imperilled by the differences which had arisen over the right of taxation claimed by Parliament

and denied by the inhabitants of the Colonies. The gravity of the situation, and the disastrous results to all Englishmen which would result from a clash between the two peoples, were strikingly summed up in the following lines, which first headed a column of the *London Chronicle* of November 16th–19th, 1765, and which appeared at irregular intervals during the next nine years in the same prominent position in this newspaper, as well as in *Lloyd's Evening Post* (London), and in the *Middlesex Journal*:

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN,  
MEN OF ENGLAND, THE COLONIES, BRETHEREN.

Consider well the *Reverse* of a Dutch medal, struck in their early troubles.

“Two earthen vases, floating in the waters. *Inscription.*  
*Frangimur si Collidimur.*”

The medal to which this exhortation referred, an engraving of which appears in the headband of this chapter, was struck in 1587 at the time when the jealousies between the two factions of the town of Horn threatened the very existence of its government and freedom.

The simile was a forcible one and readily comprehended, and the inscription, “If we are forced together, we are shattered,” was truly prophetic of the separation which took place between Great Britain and the Colonies, which fin-

ally ended the long-drawn-out contest between the King and his transatlantic subjects.

The news of the action of the Congress of the Colonies at New York; their protest against the Stamp Act and the principle involved therein; the stories of the destruction of the stamps (an engraving of one of these ends the introductory chapter of this volume) at many places in the Colonies, and the text of the many agreements made against the non-importation of British goods, were printed in the press simultaneously with accounts of the distress existing in the manufacturing centers of England, resulting from the loss of American trade.

Portions of the original charters granted to the Colonies of Massachusetts-Bay, Maryland and Virginia appeared in the newspapers, and were cited as demonstrating that the inhabitants of North America had long been entitled to the same rights and privileges enjoyed by those who resided in England. A clearer understanding of the American question was at last obtainable from the news-sheets, and the year 1765 closed with commercial England prepared for and demanding the repeal of the Stamp Act. A bill repealing this Act, which, during its short life had been so fraught with disaster to both England and America, was finally passed by both Houses of Parliament on March 17th, 1766, and

## THE BOSTON PORT BILL

the peril which threatened the nation seemed averted. In thanksgiving therefor, and in gratitude for the active energies displayed by William Pitt in securing the passage of the bill, the following remarkable leader appeared in the *London Chronicle* the next day and many times thereafter, during the next few months:

MARCH XVIII, MDCCLXV  
ENGLISHMEN, SCOTTISHMEN, IRISHMEN,  
COLONISTS, BRETHEREN,

Rejoice in the wisdom, fortitude of *one* man, which hath  
saved You from civil-war and your enemies! Erect a Statue  
to that Man in the Metropolis of your dominions! Place  
a garland of oak leaves on the Pedestal and grave in it

### CONCORD

The above exhortation has been here reprinted, for the purpose of demonstrating that in England, even at the time this leader appeared, it was recognized that a contest between Great Britain and her Colonies would partake of the nature of a civil war, the horrors of which were only prevented by the repeal of the Stamp Act. It also tells us of the added esteem in which William Pitt, already a popular hero, was held, and of the debt of gratitude owed to this great statesman not only by the Colonials, whose burdens he had lightened, but also by the people of England, Scotland and Ireland. In addition, this recognition of Pitt's services to the nation

#### OPINION OF THE STAMP ACT LEGISLATION

undoubtedly first suggested to the people of America the idea of erecting statues in his honour in their cities, for the same packets which brought the news of the repeal of the Stamp Act brought also copies of the London newspaper which had just proposed this method of honouring Pitt. The English people quickly learned of America's desire to perpetuate the memory of Pitt's services from a letter, which appeared in the press, written from New York only two days after the news of the repeal of the Stamp Act was received there, which mentioned the fact "that the merchants and principal inhabitants of that city have opened a subscription for erecting an elegant statue of the Right Hon. William Pitt, Esq."

Public sentiment, however, demanded that the erection of the statue be made an official act of the Province. News of the quick response of the Assembly, preceded by their substantial expression of loyalty and gratitude to their King, appeared in the *London Chronicle* of August 2nd-5th, 1766: "*From the JOURNAL of the General Assembly of NEW YORK. Die Veneris, June 20.* The house taking into consideration the innumerable and singular benefits received from our most gracious Sovereign, since the commencement of his auspicious reign, during which they have been protected from the fury of a cruel,

merciless, and savage enemy; and lately from the utmost confusion and distress, by the repeal of the Stamp Act: In testimony therefore of their gratitude and the reverence due to his sacred person and character,

“Resolved, That this House will make provision for an Equestrian statue of his present Majesty, our most gracious Sovereign, to be erected in the City of New York, to perpetuate to the latest posterity the deep sense this Colony has of the eminent and singular blessings derived from him, during his most auspicious reign.

“Mr. Cruger moved, that in consideration of the many eminent and essential services done the Northern Colonies, by the Right Hon. William Pitt Esq; but particularly in promoting the Repeal of the late Stamp Act, and to perpetuate to the latest posterity the grateful sense this Colony entertains on that account, provision might be made for erecting an elegant statue of him in brass: whereupon it was resolved, that this House will provide ways and means to procure and pay for a statue of the Right Hon. William Pitt, Esq; accordingly.”

Other letters soon told of similar action contemplated by the Assemblies of Massachusetts-Bay, Maryland and South Carolina. The orders for the execution of the statues of Pitt voted by the people of New York and South Carolina were

entrusted to the same sculptor. In 1770, and at a time when the Ministry were again oppressing the Colonies, the following description of the statue of Pitt, which had been ordered by the South Carolina Assembly and then just completed, and the accompanying inscription for its pedestal, appeared in the London newspapers:

“The following inscription is on a pedestal on which is intended to erect a colossal statue of the new Lord Chatham in the Ciceronian character and habiliment, which is now going to be sent to South Carolina. The action is spirited, and the execution masterly treated by Mr. Wilton, the statuary: ‘In grateful memory of his services to his country in general, and to America in particular, the Commons House of Assembly of South Carolina unanimously voted this statue of the Right Hon. WILLIAM PITT Esq. who gloriously exerted himself in defending the freedom of the Americans, the True Sons of England, by promoting a repeal of the Stamp Act in the year 1766. Time shall sooner destroy this mark of their esteem, than erase from their minds the just sense of his patriotic virtue.’”

The two statues were almost identical in appearance, both being of white marble from the same model, and mounted upon brick pedestals

## THE BOSTON PORT BILL

with white marble tablets and facings. The wording of the inscription upon the pedestal of the New York statue (an engraving of which as it originally appeared ends Chapter IV) is preserved by the following account of the unveiling which appeared in the *New York Journal or the General Advertiser* of September 13th, 1770:

Last Friday the STATUE of the Right Hon. WILLIAM PITT, Esq; Earl of Chatham, was fixed on the Pedestal erected for it in Wall-Street, amidst the Acclamations of a great Number of the Inhabitants. The Statue is of fine white Marble, the Habit Roman, the right Hand holds a Scroll, partly open, whereon we read, ARTICULI MAGNA CHARTA, LIBERTATUM; the left Hand is extended, the Figure being in the Attitude of one delivering an Oration. On the South Side of the Pedestal, the following Inscription is cut on a Table of white Marble.

THIS STATUE  
OF THE  
RIGHT HONOURABLE  
WILLIAM PITT,  
EARL OF CHATHAM,  
WAS ERECTED  
AS A PUBLIC TESTIMONY OF THE GRATEFUL  
SENSE THE COLONY OF NEW-YORK  
RETAINS OF THE MANY EMINENT  
SERVICES HE RENDERED AMERICA,  
PARTICULARLY IN PROMOTING THE REPEAL  
OF THE STAMP-ACT.  
ANNO DOM. M,DCC,LXX.

It is interesting to note in this connection that the statues of the King and Pitt were voted



on the same day by the Assembly; were carried to New York from London in the same vessel four years later, and were, in the year when Independence was declared, pulled down by the opposing factions—the King being moulded into bullets to send against his own troops, and the Minister wantonly decapitated by the King's forces, in order to vent their spleen against a fellow-countryman whom their enemies revered as a friend and ally.

A witness to the contemporary recognition in England of the grateful appreciation by America of William Pitt's efforts in her behalf, is afforded us by a Chelsea-Derby statuette moulded by England's greatest manufacturer of porcelain, William Duesbury. An engraving of this statuette is given at the head of the following chapter. In this America is shown kneeling before Pitt in an attitude suggestive of the entreaty for justice made by the radicals among her citizens, as well as of the prayer for mercy against the unbearable taxation uttered by those, who, because of loyalty to their King and mistaken faith in his kindness, had kept out of the political arena.

The delight with which the news of the repeal of the Stamp Act was welcomed in those portions of England, where the curtailment of their American market had resulted in financial depression with its attendant distresses, was simi-

lar to the jubilation exhibited in the City of London on the same occasion and noted in the issue of the *London Chronicle* of March 18th—20th, 1766, in the ensuing paragraph: “A great number of Merchants met yesterday at the King’s Arms Tavern in Cornhill, from whence they went in their coaches to Westminster, to express their satisfaction on the royal assent being given to the bill for the repeal of the Stamp Act. The bells rang in every part of the city on the same occasion ; and in the afternoon the Merchants had a grand entertainment at the above Tavern, at which were present many persons of distinction. At night many coffee houses, and other houses in the city were finely illuminated, and other demonstrations of joy were shown on this event.”

Although the news of the repeal of the Stamp Act was immediately dispatched to America, it did not reach there until about the middle of May, the season of the year militating against fast voyages by the packets. The glad tidings spread like wild-fire, and celebrations were in order in all parts of the country. Descriptions of these scenes of jubilee, and incidentally of the frequent damage to life and property therein incurred through the careless handling of explosives, quickly reached the people of England through the medium of their newspapers, and

## OPINION OF THE STAMP ACT LEGISLATION

graphically pictured the exultation the American people displayed in their joy over the relief from legislation which they had opposed as being incompatible with the liberty to which as Englishmen and loyal servants of the King they were entitled.

In the cities the ceremonies held in celebration of the Repeal were conducted upon a grand scale, as may be learned from the appended letter which appeared in the *London Chronicle* of June 28th-July 1st, 1766, and which has been selected as being typical of the accounts which crossed the water of the thanksgivings of the people of the Colonies for relief from hostile legislation. “*Extract of a Letter from Boston, (New England) dated May 26.* On Friday sevensnight, to the inexpressible joy of all, were received by Captain Coffin, the important news of the repeal of the Stamp Act, which was signed by his Majesty the 18th of March last ; upon which the bells in the town were set a ringing, the ships in the harbour display’d their colours, guns were discharged in different parts of the town, and in the evening were several bonfires. According to a previous vote of the town the Selectmen met in the afternoon at Faneuil-Hall, and appointed Monday last for a day of general rejoicings on that happy occasion. The morning was ushered in with musick, ringing of bells, and the discharge of

cannon, the ships in the harbour and many of the houses in town being adorned with colours. —Joy smil'd in every countenance, benevolence, gratitude and content seemed the companions of all. By the generosity of some Gentlemen remarkable for their humanity and patriotism, our gaol was freed of debtors.—At one o'clock the castle and batteries, and train of artillery fired a royal salute, and the afternoon was spent in mirth and jollity.—In the evening the whole town was beautifully illuminated :—On the common the sons of Liberty erected a magnificent pyramid, illuminated with 280 lamps: The four upper stories of which were ornamented with the figures of their Majesties, and fourteen of the worthy patriots who have distinguished themselves by their love of Liberty. The following lines were on the four sides of the next apartment, which referred to the emblematical figures on the lower story, the whole supported by a large base of the Doric order :

“O thou whom next to heav'n we most revere,  
 Fair Liberty ! thou lovely Goddess hear !  
 Have we not woo'd thee, won thee, held thee long,  
 Lain in thy lap and melted on thy tongue :  
 Thro' deaths and dangers rugged paths pursu'd,  
 And led thee smiling to this Solitude :  
 Hid thee within our hearts most golden cell,  
 And brav'd the powers of earth and powers of hell.

OPINION OF THE STAMP ACT LEGISLATION

Goddess ! we cannot part, thou must not fly,  
Be Slaves ; we dare to scorn it—dare to die.

“ While clanking chains and curses shall salute,  
Thine ears remorseless G—le, thine O B — ;  
To you blest Patriots ! we our cause submit,  
Illustrious Campden, Britain’s Guardian Pitt :  
Recede not, frown not, rather let us be  
Depriv’d of being, than of Liberty.  
Let fraud or malice blacken all our crimes,  
No disaffection stains these peaceful climes ;  
O save us, shield us from impending woes,  
The foes of Britain, only are our foes.

“ Boast foul oppression, boast thy transient reign,  
While honest Freedom struggles with her chain ;  
But know the sons of Virtue, hardy, brave,  
Disdain to lose thro’ mean despair to save ;  
Arrouz’d in thunder, awful they appear,  
With proud deliverance stalking in their rear ;  
While tyrant foes their pallid fear betray,  
Shrink from their arms, and give their vengeance way ;  
See in th’ unequal war Oppressors fall,  
The hate, contempt, and endless curse of all.

“ Our Faith approv’d our Liberty restor’d,  
Our hearts bend grateful to our sov’reign Lord ;  
Hail darling Monarch ! by this act endear’d,

## THE BOSTON PORT BILL

Our firm affections are thy best reward ;  
Shou'd Britain's self, against herself divide,  
And hostile armies frown on either side ;  
Shou'd hosts rebellious, shake our Brunswick's-  
    throne,  
And as they dar'd thy parent, dare the son ;  
To this Asylum stretch thine happy wing,  
And we'll contend, who best shall love our King.

“ On the top of the pyramid was fixed a round box of fireworks, horizontally. About one hundred yards from the pyramid the Sons of Liberty erected a stage for the exhibition of their fireworks, near the Work-House, in the lower room of which they entertained the gentlemen of the town. John Hancock, Esq; who gave a grand and elegant entertainment to the genteel part of the town, and treated the populace with a pipe of Madeira wine, erected at the front of his house, which was magnificently illuminated, a stage for the exhibition of his fireworks, which was to answer those of the Sons of Liberty.

“ At dusk the scene opened by the discharge of twelve rockets from each stage ; after which the figures on the pyramids were uncovered, making a beautiful appearance.—To give a description of the great variety of fireworks exhibited from this time till eleven o'clock would be endless—the air was filled with rockets—the ground with

bee-hives and serpents—and two stages with wheels of fireworks of various sorts. Mr. Otis and some other gentlemen who lived near the Common kept open house the whole evening, which was very pleasant; the multitudes of gentlemen and ladies, who were continually passing from one place to another, added much to the brilliancy of the night: At eleven o'clock, the signal being given by the discharge of twenty-one rockets, the horizontal wheel on the top of the pyramid or obelisk was played off, ending in the discharge of sixteen dozen of serpents in the air, which concluded the shew. To the honour of the Sons of Liberty we can with pleasure inform the world, that everything was conducted with the utmost decency and good order; not a reflection cast on any character, nor the least disorder during the whole scene.—The pyramid, which was designed to be placed under the Tree of Liberty, as a standing monument of this glorious æra, by accident took fire about one o'clock, and was consumed:—The lamps by which it was illuminated not being extinguished at the close of the scene it is supposed to have taken fire by some of them.

“On Tuesday evening some of the Sons of Liberty apprehending the lanthorns hung on the tree of Liberty, which the night before amounted only to the ever memorable No. 45, would

have made a more loyal and striking appearance if increased to the glorious majority of 108, met and procuring that number, disposed them on the tree in a very agreeable picturesque manner. The houses next adjoining and opposite were decorated with figures characteristic of those to whom we bear the deepest loyalty and gratitude: Here an imperfect portrait of their Majesties, our most gracious King and Queen—there, the royal arms:—here the illustrious Campden, Pitt, Conway, Barré, and others of late so conspicuous in the cause of Liberty and their country: in short, imagination must supply the variety exhibited on this occasion, which words are wanting to express.

“The Honour his Majesty’s Council, at a previous invitation of the Governor, met at the province House on Monday afternoon, where his Majesty’s health, and many other loyal toasts were drank; and in the evening his Excellency with the Council, walked in the Common, to see the fireworks, exhibitions, &c. who were well pleased with the regularity the inhabitants carried on their demonstrations of loyalty and joy on this happy occasion.”

This celebration took place at a period when numerical symbolism was in frequent use, hence the numbers 280, 45, 108 mentioned in the



above description were readily recognized as being emblematical respectively, of the number of votes cast in favour of the Repeal in the House of Commons (the actual number was two hundred and seventy-five, but erroneously reported to America as two hundred and eighty), of John Wilkes (see pages 95-121), and of the majority by which the bill was carried in the House of Commons.

Trade in both England and the Colonies quickly revived, and the Stamp Act, and the enmities caused thereby, bade fair to be forgotten. Any American news of political import which appeared in the English press took the shape of "Addresses to the King" from the various Colonial Assemblies, who used this method of formally expressing their loyalty to their Sovereign, and their gratitude for the removal of the unpopular and oppressive legislation. Undoubtedly the story of the Stamp Act would have gone down in history as a bit of unwise and hasty legislation, which had been repealed as soon as its significance was clearly understood, if the Ministry had taken to heart the lessons taught thereby, and had not soon attempted measure after measure repressive to self-government in the Colonies, accounts of which will appear in later chapters of this volume.

In the course of events, however, its mem-

ories were constantly revived, and during the tempestuous times in this country which preceded the breaking out of the American Revolution, the Stamp Act was kept constantly in mind, and effigies of its author, Lord Grenville, though dead, and of Lord Bute, its supposed instigator, received the same treatment accorded to the images of Lord North and other members of the Ministry, who were then attempting a domination as obnoxious as that which their predecessors had inaugurated. In England also, at the same time, the principles involved in the Stamp Act were popularly considered to be the primary cause of the troubles which were then threatening the integrity of the nation. Additional evidence of this fact may be deduced from the study of the mezzotint cartoon, reproduced upon the opposite page in the colours of the original. It was issued by *W. Humphrey, Gerrard Street, Soho*. [London], and first appeared upon sale in the print shops of London on the 16th of February, 1776, ten months after the battles of Lexington and Concord had precipitated the war, which ended in the separation of the Colonies from Great Britain. The title of this print, "THE WISE MEN *of* GOTHAM *and their* GOOSE," is sarcasm itself, and its story is told in the following verses, which hang upon the wall of the Council Chamber upon

In Gotham once the story goes  
A lot of Wise-men drove  
Should be like great White Wheal  
Could pound a Mountain down as Bel  
With many Things of worthy Note  
As proved much too long to quote  
Their District was both far and wide  
Which not a little swelled their Pride  
But above all that they possessed  
Was a fine Goose, by all confessed,  
A Bann-Avis to behold  
Who laid each Day an Egg of Gold  
This made them grow immensely rich  
Gave them an overthick skin,  
The Case balance to heavy more



They not contented with their Store  
Would Methods vague and strange pursue  
To make the Harriets Bird lay Two  
This glorious purpose to obtain  
About her Neck they put a Chain  
And more their Folly to complete  
They Stamped upon her Wings six Feet  
But this had no Effect at all  
Yet made her struggle, flither, squall  
And do what every Goose would do  
That had her Liberty in view  
When one of more distinguished Note  
Cry'd D--n her let us cut her Throat  
They did, but not an Egg was found  
But Blood came pouring from S'Wound.



THE WISE MEN of GOTHAM and their GOOSE

1st ed. 1770. By W. Humphrey, Cornhill Street, Ldn.



## OPINION OF THE STAMP ACT LEGISLATION

each side of the portrait of the British Lion, whose attitude indicates a sense of shame and sorrow :

*In Gotham once the Story goes  
A lot of Wise-acres arose  
Skill'd in the Great Politic Wheel  
Could pound a Magpie, drown an Eel,  
With many Things of worthy Note  
At present much too long to quote,  
Their District was both far and wide  
Which not a little swelled their Pride  
But above all that they possess'd  
Was a fine Goose, by all confess'd  
A Rara Avis to behold  
Who laid each Day an Egg of Gold  
This made them grow immensely rich  
Gave them an Avaritious Itch,  
The Case belongs to many more  
They not contented with their Store  
Would Methods vague and strange pursue  
To make the Harmless Bird lay Two  
This glorious purpose to obtain  
About her Neck they put a chain,  
And more their Folly to compleat  
They Stampt upon her Wings & Feet  
But this had no Effect at all,  
Yet made her struggle, flutter, squall,  
And do what every Goose would do*

## THE BOSTON PORT BILL

*That had her Liberty in view,  
When one of more distinguish'd Note  
Cry'd D —— n her, let us cut her Throat.  
They did, but not an Egg was found  
But Blood came pouring from y<sup>e</sup> Wound.*

The artist has pictured a meeting of King George and his Cabinet and has grouped them around an executioner's block upon which lies a splendid goose. Her numerous eggs of gold are symbolical of the wealth of America, which had been flowing into the coffers of Great Britain through the channels of trade, and are evidenced in the huge basket, which Lord North, the Prime Minister, holds aloft, as well as in the overflowing sack marked TAXES, lying on the floor. The source of this wealth, whose neck already wears a chain, is about to have her usefulness ended by a blow of the cutlass brandished by Lord Bute, to whose secret influence the baleful policy against America was attributed.

By a comparison with other caricatures and cartoons of the day the personage to the left of the executioner is plainly identified as the Earl of Sandwich, the "Jemmy Twitcher" of the opponents of the King's policy, and whose bitter and hypocritical attack upon Wilkes in the House of Lords twelve years before had brought down upon him the ire and contempt of both

## OPINION OF THE STAMP ACT LEGISLATION

England and America. The two personages in the centre of the group, who are interestedly overseeing the execution, were easily recognizable as King George the Third, and his Solicitor-General, Alexander Wedderburn, whose effigy figured in many a Colonial demonstration on account of the brutal and uncalled for insult heaped upon Franklin in the presence of the Privy Council two years before. In the foreground of the scene, the lawn sleeves and robe denote the wearer to be one of the Bishops, then sitting in the House of Lords, whose votes at this period were severely commented on by the press, as being in no way worthy of men whose profession proclaimed them lovers of justice and peace (see page 147). The heavy wig and the slender nose of the Minister standing between his Majesty and the Bishop identify their owner as Lord Mansfield, the Lord Chancellor of England, a man who during his long service in public life neglected no opportunity to further any measures which might tend to restrict the rights of the King's subjects in America.

In this cartoon, put upon the market by an English print-seller for sale to an appreciative English public, may be read a story of a power-loving King and his foolish advisers, and of their jealousy of the increasing wealth of their American subjects, though cognizant of the fact that

## THE BOSTON PORT BILL

the commercial activities of the latter were adding great prosperity to the people of England. It also tells of the recognition of the attempts of the Ministry to take to itself additional revenue through the imposition of import duties and of the Stamp Act, of the righteous protest of the Colonies against the same, and of the final outcome,—the shedding of the BLOOD of a people who were only attempting to defend the liberty which they were entitled to possess.





## II

# ENGLISH DISAPPROVAL OF THE COLONIAL POLICY OF PARLIAMENT

—





## II

### ENGLISH DISAPPROVAL OF THE COLONIAL POLICY OF PARLIAMENT



THE preamble to the Bill for the repeal of the Stamp Act assigned as the reason therefor that "the Continuance of the said Act would be attended with many Inconveniences and may be productive of Consequences greatly detrimental to the Commercial Interests of these

Kingdoms." At the same time, in order to maintain the supremacy claimed by Parliament over the Colonies, an Act was passed which denied the claims made by Colonial Assemblies of exemption from the taxation imposed by Parliament, and declared that "the Parliament had, and of right ought to have power to bind the Colonies in all cases whatsoever." This assertion of the right of Parliament to control the Colonies caused little comment among the people of England: in America it was quietly accepted as being merely a balm to the wounded feelings of the King and his party in Parliament. Along with the feeling of relief from the well-nigh intolerable taxation, however, grew the understanding that much of Great Britain's prosperity depended upon, and sprang from America, and that in future the rights of the Colonies necessarily must receive more considerate treatment from the law-makers on the other side of the water.

A few months later the serious illness of Lord Chatham necessitated his temporary retirement; in his absence Charles Townsend, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, at the behest of George Grenville, and to the delight of the King, introduced into Parliament early in 1767 an Act imposing duties on lead, glass, painter's colours, paper and tea imported into the Colonies.

The ostensible purpose of this Bill was to raise from America the small sum of twenty thousand pounds sterling for the Exchequer; its real purpose was to reassert the domination of Parliament over the growing American Colonies. This Bill awakened but little general interest in Parliament, as its sponsors called attention to the fact that the American Colonial Assemblies had virtually admitted the right of Great Britain to restrain the commerce of the Colonies by the imposition of duties upon importations. In America the news of the passage of the Bill caused great indignation. At first no organized attempt was made to resist its provisions, although its enactment was exceedingly irritating to the people and caused them to be jealous and suspicious of any fancied attack upon their prerogatives.

An expression of the prevailing distrust of the motives of Parliament, then extant in America, manifested itself in the Assembly of the Colony of New York. Parliament had recently passed an Act which compelled the various Colonies to provide for the billeting of the royal troops stationed among them. With this Act the Assembly of New York complied in every particular, except the supplying of pepper, salt and vinegar. For this insubordination, trifling as it appeared, its legislative powers were suspended.

In the latter part of the year 1767, under date of November 30th-December 2nd, there appeared in the *Pennsylvania Chronicle and Universal Advertiser* the first of twelve successive weekly letters from a "Farmer in Pennsylvania to the Inhabitants of the British Colonies." In these were skillfully and exhaustively discussed the possibilities which might result from the attitude then being assumed by Great Britain toward her Colonies. These "Letters" instantly struck a responsive note, and were reprinted in almost all of the Colonial newspapers and published in book form in Philadelphia, New York, Boston and Williamsburg. Their contents called attention to the seeming indifference with which the news of the suspension of the legislative powers of the Assembly of New York was received in the various Colonies, and argued that this action was indirectly a positive assertion of the power of Parliament to tax the Colonies, and, in a measure, virtually similar to the method of taxation sought to be established by the Stamp Act. The levying of the new duties was next discussed, and a sharply defined distinction drawn between the right of Parliament to impose duties for the purpose of directing the trade of the Colonies into English channels, and the right of the same body to levy duties for the purpose of securing revenue therefrom.

Lack of space prevents further exposition of the contents of these "Letters" beyond stating that they drew attention to other dangers lurking in the situation, and called upon the Colonies for a solid and united resistance to the attacks upon their liberties. The "Farmer's Letters" were also published in book form in London and Dublin, and being favourably reviewed in the press and periodicals, had large circulation, and their contents formed an interesting topic of conversation among all classes. The name of John Dickinson, for it soon was known that he was the "illustrious author," became famous in England. In the House of Commons Isaac Barré characterized him as "a man who was not only an ornament to his country but an honour to human nature."

The arguments advanced in the "Farmer's Letters" were freely quoted in speeches in Parliament, and their substance appeared in many discussions of the American question found in the press. From this time on, the principles of constitutional freedom advocated by the American Assemblies became more thoroughly understood in England. The tone of the press there changed; the material advantage or disadvantage to Great Britain of the policy of taxing her Colonies was but little dwelt upon. The questions at issue in this connection, as discussed in the

press, were the constitutional rights of the Colonies to regulate their own affairs.

America soon became aroused to the threatened danger, and Protests, Petitions and Addresses to the King praying for the abolition of the recent duties were voted by Assemblies and town meetings. The insignificance of the sum purposed to be raised by the new revenue measures gave ground to a general suspicion that this legislation would be followed by a more universal system of taxation. In many parts of the country the old Non-Importation Associations were revived, and the feeling of hostility to Great Britain, which had disappeared, sprang up anew. The collection of the duties aroused antagonism and the Custom House officers were subject to frequent outrages at the hands of the lawless element; an ominous undercurrent of resentment against his Majesty's servants was sweeping through the country.

The Assembly of Massachusetts-Bay on January 17th, 1768, voted to send to their agent in London, Dennis de Berdt, a carefully prepared letter couched in terms of the greatest loyalty to Great Britain, but affirming strongly its constitutional power to legislate for the Colony and pointing out the manifest unfairness of the proposition of taxing Colonies where manufactures were prohibited, and the trade of which was con-



fined to the nation imposing the taxation. Other clauses in the letter contained strong objections to the proviso in the new Act that the revenues derived therefrom be used for the payment of the salaries of the Royal Governors and Justices, which payments had hitherto been made by the legislative bodies of the Colonies ; objection was also made to the maintenance of a standing army in America and alarm was expressed at the Act suspending the legislative powers of the Assembly of New York. Massachusetts-Bay at the same time instructed its Agent to see that the contents of the letter reached the individual members of the Ministry, and also be given wide circulation in England through the medium of the press: along with the letter was sent a Petition to the King which complained of Parliament's action against America. One month later the same body issued Letters to the Assemblies of their sister Colonies and the House of Burgesses of Virginia. These letters enclosed copies of the above mentioned Letter to their Agent and Petition to the King, and recounted the various other steps Massachusetts-Bay had taken to secure, through the instrumentality of their friends in England, the repeal of the new legislation and expressed the belief that the united supplications of the distressed Americans would be favourably received by his Majesty, King George, and also

suggested, though disclaiming any desire to take the lead, that a correspondence be opened between the various Colonies upon the all absorbing and vital question of the new taxation.

In America these Letters met a hearty response from their recipients, but the copy which reached the Ministry gave great offense. The Secretary of State to the Colonies, the Earl of Hillsborough, immediately sent copies of it to each Royal Governor, with instructions to prevent any concurrent action as suggested therein, and characterized the contents of the letter as "seditious."

The Ministry then ordered the Massachusetts Assembly to rescind their "Circular Letter" under penalty of dissolution. This demand was firmly refused by a decisive majority, the vote, which stood ninety-two to seventeen, being greeted with acclamations of joy throughout all the Colonies. "92" at once became another American symbol and the patriotic members of the Assembly were immortalized in song and verse; fêtes were given in their honour throughout the country and few public functions closed without the toasting of "the glorious ninety-two."

The press of England almost unanimously denounced this procedure of the Ministry in no uncertain terms and declared that no fair minded

person could deny the folly and injustice of a demand which required "a public body to rescind a resolution for sending a letter which was already sent, answered, and acted upon." The administration's designation of the vote for sending a "Circular Letter" to invite the Assemblies of the neighbouring colonies to communicate together in behalf of the public safety in order to obtain a redress of grievances, as "a flagitious attempt to disturb the public peace" was considered to involve the liberty of legislative action in England itself as well as in America.

The tension between Governor Bernard and the Assembly was at the breaking point in the Province of Massachusetts-Bay. The Executive was known to be inciting the home government to further action against his people. The enforcement of the customs laws became more and more difficult and his Majesty's servants in the Customs service held no enviable position. In order to enforce the provisions of the law, maintain order, and assert the supremacy of the Crown, the Governor applied for an armed garrison for Boston and his request was granted. When it was learned that troops would be sent to Boston, the people there appointed a committee to wait upon the Governor with a request that the Assembly be convened. This being denied, a town meeting was called which empowered the Se-

lectmen to propose to the Selectmen of the other towns of the Province a convention to be held in Faneuil Hall in Boston on the 22nd of September, 1768.

Representatives of ninety-six towns and eight districts responded and elected the Speaker and Clerk of the late Assembly to corresponding positions in this newly organized representative body. The convention remained in session for six days, drew up a set of resolutions which voiced their protest against the danger to "the liberties of the Colonies from the united body of pensioners and soldiers," repeated also the protest of the Assembly of Massachusetts-Bay, and, after strongly counselling moderation and patience until their just demands were granted, dispersed. This act of the people of Boston, in calling a convention composed of duly authorized delegates from all the towns of their colony, demonstrated to America that legislative government could still be instituted, even though the representative of the Crown should fail to call together the regular legislative body of the people. Massachusetts-Bay thus organized a Province in defiance of the royal Government and paved the way for the action of Virginia six years later, when the latter called together a similar representative body elected by duly authorized conventions of the twelve Colonies, for the express purpose of devising measures

of relief in behalf of the distressed people of Boston and Massachusetts-Bay.

Two regiments arrived at Boston the day after the convention adjourned, and immediately became a cause of irritation to the inhabitants of the city, one being encamped upon the Common, the other quartered in Faneuil Hall, the meeting-place of the people—a view of which appears in the initial letter at the opening of this chapter.

The maintenance of an armed force in Boston enraged the people of the other Colonies for they feared that their own capitals might later on be similarly garrisoned.

In the meantime the trade centres of England were feeling the loss of their American trade, as the example of non-importation set by the merchants of Boston, had been followed in many other places. Their quaintly worded resolutions and odd penalties imposed for the infraction thereof, which appeared in the English press, did much to convince the thinking people of England of the earnest determination of the Americans to uphold their right of self-government. The following article which appeared in the *London Chronicle* of May 31st–June 2nd, 1768 concisely reflected the serious views held in many parts of the Colonies:—" *Boston, April 11*. The Connecticut papers acquaint us that their great towns have come into similar measures with

Boston. The Mansfield agreement concludes thus: 'And if any of the inhabitants of this town does not conform to the said resolutions, or violates the said agreement without offering superior arguments to vindicate their conduct, they shall be looked upon as having their reasoning faculty beclouded and treated with that tenderness that such a melancholy circumstance requires.' "

In 1769 the people of Boston, following out a suggestion made by their friends in Great Britain, took a still more decisive step and returned goods imported from England, and thereby emphasized their determination to use no British goods until the obnoxious legislation was repealed. In the same year Parliament sent an Address to the King, in which it gave assurance of its support to any measures necessary to maintain order in Massachusetts-Bay, and also besought him to direct the Governor of that Colony to transmit information in regard to persons there suspected of treasonable practices, in order that they might be brought to England for trial. This step attacked the cherished right of trial by jury.

Nothing can be selected which more strongly instances the sympathy displayed in the London press for the people of Massachusetts-Bay than the following four lines which headed a page of the *London Chronicle* on May 23d, 1769. The

sentiment\* was the more noteworthy from the fact that this paper was almost alone in its editorial attacks upon John Wilkes, whose struggle with the King and Parliament was the all-absorbing topic at this time.

THE sign, by which to know, that Government *repents* of its severities against the North Americans, would be, the recall of a certain Governour.

The press continually drew attention to the fact that the dangers, which had happily been avoided by the repeal of the Stamp Act, had been revived by the new American legislation. Of the numerous warnings of the peril which threatened the integrity of the nation, none was more pointed than the one which was frequently to be found heading the columns of the *London Chronicle* during the year 1769, and called attention to the truism, that by disagreement which causes passion, the greatest of the great will be destroyed.

ENGLISHMEN, SCOTTISHMEN, IRISHMEN,  
COLONISTS, BRETHEREN,  
*Discordia res maximae dilabuntur!*

The impression steadily gained ground even in Parliament that the persecution of the Colo-

---

\* In order to demonstrate the full force of the editorials quoted on pages 26, 28, 63, the statement must be made that during the previous four years almost the only leading articles presented in this form in the *London Chronicle* were those herein embodied.

nies had gone too far and had awakened a sympathy for America in England, which was too universal to be disregarded, hence partial relief from taxation was promised. The tone of the English press was most sarcastic and bitter against the Ministry. The following fables addressed to the Earl of Hillsborough, Secretary of State for the American Department, appeared on January 2nd, 1770, in the newspaper above quoted; these in unmistakable terms referred to the foolish policy of taxation inaugurated for the sake of obtaining revenue from America, which had resulted in the encouragement of manufacturing there and loss of trade to England (further references to this fact are found in the closing chapter of this volume); they also briefly foretold the impending repeal of this foolish act of legislation and contained the warning that the constantly growing American Colonies would in time no longer brook the unjust interference to which in their weaker days they had been compelled to submit.

“New Fables, *humbly inscribed to the S——y of St——e for the American Department.*

#### FABLE I.

“A Herd of cows had long afforded plenty of milk, butter, and cheese to an avaricious Farmer, who grudged them the grass they subsisted on,



## DISAPPROVAL OF THE COLONIAL POLICY

and at length mowed it to make money of the hay, leaving them to shift for food as they could, and yet still expected to milk them as before ; but the cows, offended with his unreasonableness, resolved for the future to suckle one another.

### FABLE II

“An eagle, king of birds, soaring on his wings aloft over a Farmer’s yard, saw a cat there basking in the sun, mistook it for a rabbit, stooped, seized it, and carried it up into the air, intending to prey on it. The cat turning, set her claws into the eagle’s breast ; who, finding his mistake, opened his talons and would have let her drop ; but puss unwilling to fall so far, held faster ; and the eagle, to get rid of the inconvenience, found it necessary to set her down where he took her up.

### FABLE III

“A lion’s whelp was put on board a Guinea ship bound to America as a present to a friend in that country : it was tame and harmless as a kitten, and therefore not confined, but suffered to walk about the ship at pleasure. A stately, full-grown English mastiff, belonging to the Captain, despising the weakness of the young lion, frequently took its food by force, and often turned it out of its lodging-box, when he had a

mind to repose therein himself. The young lion nevertheless grew daily in size and strength, and the voyage being long, he became at last a more equal match for the mastiff, who continuing his insults, received a stunning blow from the lion's paw that fetched his skin over his ears, and deterred him from any future contest with such growing strength; regretting that he had not rather secured its friendship than provoked its enmity."

American affairs claimed increasing prominence in the British press, and the opinions therein expressed voiced the wide-spread demand that the Colonists receive redress for their grievances. The following card, which appeared in the *London Chronicle* under date of February 3rd-6th, 1770, in a very few lines summed up the views previously advocated by various writers in many lengthy epistles, and offered a solution which, if it had been accepted by the Ministry, would have reunited the bonds of loyalty and love which hitherto had held the Colonies true to Great Britain, and reopened the channels of trade which had been clogged by evil legislation.

## A CARD

"RATIONALIS presents his compliments to the Ministry and Merchants connected with America, and begs leave to acquaint them, that, in his opinion, the remedy to heal the difference

between this Kingdom and the Colonies, can be contained in a nutshell: It is,

Repeal your impolitic Revenue Acts;

Recall your army from America;

Revoke the Board of Commissioners of Customs;

Abolish the Vice Courts of Admiralty;

And ask such aids as you may want through their Assemblies.

Do this, and all will instantly be at peace; the Colonies will embrace you; they will abandon their manufactures, and as heretofore bring you the fruits of their labour for your goods."

The next step taken by the Ministry was a weak one, for by repealing, "*at the request of the merchants and people of Great Britain,*" all duties save that on tea, it neither affirmed its power of enforcing taxation nor renounced its right to impose duties upon the Colonies. The retention of the tax upon tea in no way reflected the wish of the people of England, and was only secured by the strenuous efforts of the King's henchmen in Parliament, as the bill for its repeal failed by only sixty-two votes at a full meeting of the House of Commons, a body largely composed of men who owed their livelihood to their willingness to act at their King's pleasure. The abolition of four-fifths of the duties, however, had the effect which its author, Lord North,

had predicted, namely, that of the dismemberment of the Non-Importation Associations and the renewal of commerce with Great Britain.

There had been great difficulty in America in maintaining the agreements against trading with England, for there was no such unanimity of hostile sentiment against the Acts of '67 as had been manifested at the time of the Stamp Tax. The southern Colonies as a rule suffered little diminution of trade, but in New York so strictly was the agreement observed that the London press had noted that even "the statues of his Majesty and Lord Chatham, executed by Mr. Wilton, by order of the General Assembly of New York, will not be shipped for that Province till the fate of the American Revenue Acts is known." To all appearances the era of contention between Great Britain and her Colonies was closed and the old relations renewed except in Massachusetts-Bay, where the presence of the soldiery was a constant source of irritation. In this Province the next three years were marked by a steady increase of the ill-feeling between the King's servants and the populace. The affair which took place on the 5th of March, 1770, in Boston between the royal troops and the citizens, popularly known as the "Boston Massacre," was kept constantly in mind and its anniversary celebrated each year by the delivering of an oration by

## DISAPPROVAL OF THE COLONIAL POLICY

some distinguished patriot who took this occasion to add fuel to the flame of Liberty by discoursing on the wrongs of the Colonies, the menace of standing armies, and similar topics calculated to keep the public mind aroused against the royal Government. The festivities in honour of the "14th of August, 1765," on which day Boston first showed her opposition to the Stamp Tax, were enthusiastically entered into, and the frequent collisions between members of the Military and Customs Service, and the lawless element of the town increased the tension. The contest between the Governor and the Assembly over their Prerogatives was freely recorded in the English press and kept the name of Boston and the distresses of its people prominent in the public eye, and elicited as well, in the shape of "Letters to the Editors," many expressions of sympathy for their transatlantic brethren.

The repeal of the duties imposed by the "Acts of '67," save that on tea, was considered a concession to both parties to the controversy, for Parliament, in retaining the duty, affirmed its right of taxation. America, by refraining from the use of tea imported from England, denied that right, and drank tea smuggled in from other countries. In the year 1773 the controversy between the King and his subjects in America

took a new turn, owing to the direct refusal of all the Colonies to receive tea from England.

At this time the great East India Company, high in favour with the Crown, was in financial straits, for in its warehouses in England some seventeen million pounds of tea had been accumulated for which there was apparently no market. In order, therefore, to relieve this Company from its financial embarrassment, and at the same time secure a revenue from America, Parliament passed a Bill remitting the duty of a shilling a pound hitherto paid upon all tea on its arrival at an English port, provided it be exported to America, thereby enabling that country, after paying the duty of three-pence per pound, to secure its tea at a lower cost than before the duty had been imposed. The news of this innovation, which was regarded as an attempt to seduce the Colonies into the payment of the revenue tax, caused widespread indignation and alarm, and plans were formulated to render it ineffectual. Word soon came that ships were lading with tea for Charleston, Philadelphia, New York and Boston. The citizens of Philadelphia were quick to act, and on the 18th of October passed the following resolutions, which were so comprehensive that they were shortly afterwards adopted by the citizens of the principal towns of the various Colonies, and given

to the world as America's reply to this new move of Parliament :

"1. That the disposal of their own property is the inherent right of freemen ; that there can be no property in that which another can, of right, take from us without our consent ; that the claim of parliament to tax America, is in other words, a claim of right to levy contributions on us at pleasure.

"2. That the duty imposed by parliament upon tea landed in America, is a tax on the Americans, or levying contributions on them without their consent.

"3. That the express purpose for which the tax is levied on the Americans,—namely, for the support of government, administration of justice, and defence of his Majesty's dominions in America, has a direct tendency to render assemblies useless, and to introduce arbitrary government and slavery.

"4. That a virtuous and steady opposition to this ministerial plan of governing America, is absolutely necessary to preserve even the shadow of liberty, and is a duty which every freeman in America owes to his country, to himself and to his posterity.

"5. That the resolution lately entered into by the East-India company, to send out their tea to America, subject to the payment of duties on its

being landed here, is an open attempt to enforce this ministerial plan, and a violent attack upon the liberties of America.

“6. That it is the duty of every American to oppose this attempt.

“7. That whoever shall directly or indirectly, countenance this attempt, or in any wise aid or abet in unloading, receiving, or vending the tea sent, or to be sent out by the East-India company, while it remains subject to the payment of a duty here, is an enemy to his country.

“8. That a committee be immediately chosen to wait on those gentlemen, who, it is reported, are appointed by the East-India company, to receive and sell said tea and request them, from a regard to their own character and the peace and good order of the city and province, immediately to resign their appointment.”

The news of the arrival of the tea ships was everywhere anxiously awaited and measures were adopted to prevent the landing and sale of their cargoes. In most places the consignees of the tea selected by the East India Company were forcibly obliged to resign their appointments. Among the consignees designated to receive the tea at Boston were the two sons of Governor Hutchinson, hence the tea destined for that place was virtually consigned to the Governor. It was realized in Boston that the issue thus defined must of neces-



sity be a serious one. On the first of November all the consignees were petitioned to meet the people of the town at the Liberty Tree and then and there hand in their resignations. As no notice was taken of this entreaty, they were waited upon by a committee who endeavoured to obtain their signatures to a paper promising that no attempt would be made to land the tea, and that they would be returned immediately to London. As this request was not complied with, a town meeting was held on the fifth of the same month, the Philadelphia Resolutions above quoted were adopted, and the consignees again asked to relinquish their commissions, but in vain. Twelve days later word was received in Boston that the Boston tea ships had actually sailed. Another town-meeting was held the next day, at which a new attempt was made to obtain the resignation of the consignees. On the 22d of the month representatives from the neighbouring towns met the Boston Committee and addressed letters to all other towns of the Province, in which advice was asked upon the momentous question of the landing of the tea. On Sunday the 28th the Dartmouth, the first of the three tea ships, was sighted. A promise was immediately obtained from the owner that his vessel should not be entered until the following Tuesday. The three consignees took refuge in the Castle for they

feared bodily harm from their excited fellow townsmen. The next day a mass meeting of the people of Boston and surrounding towns was held, and the assemblage, comprising several thousands of citizens, voted unanimously that "the tea should be sent back to the place from whence it came at all events, and that no duty should be paid upon it." A promise not to unload the tea was obtained from the owner and master of the Dartmouth, as well as from the owners of the two other ships daily expected. The Governor, thoroughly alarmed at the situation, solicited the Council, without avail, to assume the guardianship of the tea.

In the meantime the Massachusetts Committee of Correspondence had been seeking counsel from the similar Committees of the other Colonies. The replies of the latter encouraged the people of Boston to maintain the stand already taken, and the fate of the Boston tea ships then lost its local significance and became, so to speak, a national issue.

The arrival of the two belated vessels added to the excitement. In vain the owners attempted to secure from the Collector clearance papers which would allow the return of the cargoes. A pass for the same purpose was peremptorily refused by the Governor, and the guns of the Castle at the entrance of the harbour were or-

dered to be kept loaded and ready to fire upon the vessels, if they should attempt to clear without the proper papers. Two men-of-war, which had been laid up for the winter, were ordered into commission and sent to guard the passages out of the harbour. The King's representatives were not willing to allow the return of the tea, for they believed, that if once landed, it would soon find its way into the dining rooms of the people of Boston.

The revenue laws demanded, under penalty of seizure, that all cargoes be landed within twenty days after arrival. This period had now nearly expired and the efforts were renewed to secure clearances for the ships. Thursday, the 16th of December, was a momentous day in the history of Boston and all America. The town was in a state of suppressed excitement, for it was well understood that on the following day, owing to the provisions of the revenue laws, the tea, if still unloaded, would come into the possession of the Custom House, be landed at the Castle and there receive military protection. At ten o'clock in the morning two thousand Bostonians convened at the Old South Church, and patiently awaited the news of the result of the final attempt to secure from the Governor, who had retired to his country seat, a pass which would allow the Dartmouth to return to London.

## THE BOSTON PORT BILL

During this period of suspense, the sense of the meeting was taken as to the measures to be adopted in case the Governor should persist in his refusal, and the whole assemblage unanimously voted that the tea must not be landed. Not until nightfall did the owner of the Dartmouth appear with the news that the permission to clear his vessel had again been refused. The meeting then adjourned. The story of the immediate destruction of the tea needs no repetition here.

When the news of this apparently willful destruction of the East India Company's property first reached England, the popular feeling against Boston ran high. The enemies of America were jubilant at what they termed an overt act of rebellion; even the friends of America were aghast at the lawlessness displayed. A few months later, after the Ministry had passed measures which threatened the extermination of the flourishing town of Boston, and after the full story of the endeavours made by her citizens to avoid peaceably the issue raised by their Governor, had appeared in the press, popular opinion, as voiced in letters to the newspapers, veered around, and the insistence of Governor Hutchinson upon the landing of the tea was reprobated as being an attempt to force the objectionable tea down the throats of the protesting Bostonians.

The open defiance of royal authority demonstrated in the incident of the "Boston Tea Party" only increased the irritation of the citizens of Boston against those in the King's service. On the 29th of January, 1774, one John Malcomb, a King's Exciseman, who had incurred the displeasure of the Bostonians, was tarred and feathered and treated in a most inhuman way (see illustrations on pages 83, 92). While many of the King's servants in America had been similarly clothed in feather garments on account of their misplaced zeal in assisting the execution of the detested revenue laws, the virulent outrage upon Malcomb, the story of which reached England at the time when the feeling against Boston was so vindictive, was considered to be an attack upon the King himself and was often cited in Parliament and in the press as demonstrating the necessity of maintaining by force some responsible form of government in the Province of Massachusetts-Bay, and thereby giving protection to those in the King's service.

However, as may be gathered from the following extract from the *New York Journal* of February 17th, 1774, Malcomb brought upon himself his punishment by his offensive personality and by conduct in no way consistent with that of a King's officer, though undoubtedly his previous activity in assisting in the enforcement

of the revenue laws had brought him into bad odour with the populace, and had caused him to receive a suit of tar and feathers which, in this instance, had been put on over his regular wearing apparel.

“BOSTON, January 31.

“Last Tuesday about two o'clock Mr. George Robert Twelves Hewes was coming along Fore Street, near Capt. Ridgway's, and found the redoubted John Malcom, standing over a small boy, who was pushing a little sled before him, cursing, damning, threatening and shaking a very large cane, with a very heavy ferril on it over his head. The boy at that time was perfectly quiet, notwithstanding which Malcom continued his threats of striking him, Mr. Hewes conceiving if he struck him with that weapon, he must have killed him, came up to him, and said, Mr. Malcom, I hope you are not going to strike this boy with that stick. Malcom returned, you are an impertinent rascal, it is none of your business. Mr. Hewes then asked him, what had the child done to him? Malcom damned him, and asked him if he was going to take his part? Mr. Hewes answered no further than this, that he thought it was a shame for him to strike the child with such a club, if he intended to strike him. Malcom damned Mr. Hewes, called him a vagabond, and said, he

would let him know he should not speak to a gentleman in the street. Mr. Hewes returned, he was neither a rascal nor a vagabond, and though a poor man, was in as good credit in town as he was. Malcom called him a liar, and said he was not, nor ever would be. Mr. Hewes retorted, be that as it will, I never was tarred nor feathered any how. On this Malcom struck him, and wounded him deeply on the forehead, so that Mr. Hewes for some time lost his senses. Capt. Godfrey, then present, interposed, and after some altercation, Malcom went home, when the people were gathering round, he came out and abused them greatly, saying, you say I was tarred and feathered, and that it was not done in a proper manner, damn you, let me see the man that dare do it better! I want to see it done in the new fashioned manner. After Malcom had thus bullied the people some time, and Mr. Usher the constable had persuaded him into the house, Mrs. Malcom threw up a sash, and begged the people to go away, and Malcom came suddenly behind her, and pushed his naked sword thro' the opening, pricked Mr. Waddel in the breast, the bone stopping its course, which would otherwise have reached his vitals. Mr. Waddel on this made a stroke at the window with his cane, and broke a square of glass, through which breach he again made a pass,

and slightly wounded Mr. Waddel, who a second time returned the blow, and Malcom withdrawing, the people soon after dispersed.

“Mr. Hewes, after having his wound taken care of, went to Justice Quincy and took out a warrant for Malcom, and gave it to a constable, who went to Malcom’s house to serve it, but found the doors shut against him, and was told by him, from a window, that he would not be taken that day, as he should be followed by a damned mob; but would surrender himself to-morrow afternoon. Here the matter appeared to subside, till in the evening, the people being informed of the outrages he had committed, the threatenings and defiances he had uttered; and among other things, that he would split down the yankies by dozens and receive 20l. sterling a head for every one he destroyed, they mustered and went to his house, which being barred against them, and menacing with his loaded pistols, which he declared he would fire upon them if they came near him, they got ladders, and beating in an upper window, entered the house, and took him without loss of blood, and dragging him out, put him on a sled, and amidst the huzzas of great numbers, brought him into King street. Several gentlemen endeavouring to divert the populace from their intention, alledging that he was open to the laws of the land, which



would undoubtedly award a reasonable satisfaction to the parties he had abused; they answered he had been an old impudent and mischievous offender—he had seized vessels on account of sailors having a bottle or two of gin on board—he had in office, and otherwise, behaved in the most capricious, insulting and daringly abusive manner—and on every occasion discovered the most rooted enmity to this country, and the defenders of its rights—that, in case they let him go, they might expect a like satisfaction as they had received in the cases of Richardson and the soldiers, and the other friends of government. With these, and such like arguments, together with a gentle crowding of persons not of their way of thinking, out of the ring, they proceeded to elevate Mr. Malcom from his sled into a cart, and stripping him to buff and breeches, gave him a modern jacket and hied him away to liberty-tree, where they proposed to him to renounce his present commission, and swear that he would never hold another inconsistent with the liberties of his country; this he obstinately refusing, they then carted him to the gallows, passed a rope round his neck, and threw the other end over the beam, as if they intended to hang him: But this manœuvre he set at defiance. They then basted him for some time with a rope's end, and threatened to cut his ears off,

and on this he complied, and they then brought him home."

On the 31st of October in the same year, at a time when London and much of the rest of England were clamouring for justice for America, and protesting against the enforcement of the measures which threatened the very destruction of the lately prosperous town of Boston, a cartoon, entitled "The BOSTONIANS Paying the EXCISE-MAN, or TARRING & FEATHERING"—the first of a series of five folio mezzotint cartoons illustrating the existing state of public feeling in America—was issued by Messrs. Rob<sup>t</sup>. Sayer & J. Bennett, the well-known Map and Print-sellers of No. 53 Fleet Street, and placed for sale in the English market. The suggestion for this cartoon, a reproduction of which appears on the opposite page, was unquestionably obtained from the following article, which shortly before had appeared in the London newspapers, thereby throwing further light upon the details of the punishment of Malcomb:

"A Correspondent says he has been informed, by a Gentleman lately arrived from Philadelphia, that when Mr. John Malcomb, an Officer of the Customs at Boston, was leading, tarred and feathered, to the Gallows, with a rope about his Neck, he was asked by one of the Mob whether he was not thirsty, which was natural to a Man expect-



The BOSTONIAN'S Tying the EXCISE-MAN, or TARRING & FEATHERING.

Plate I.

London, Printed for Robt Sayer & J. Bennett, Map & Printfeller, N<sup>o</sup> 53, Fleet Street, as the Act directs 30 Oct 1774.



ing to be hanged. The unfortunate Officer of the Customs, as well as he could speak, answered yes, and immediately a large Bowl of strong Tea was put into his Hands, with Orders to drink the King's Health. Whether it was owing to Loyalty or Thirst is not material ; poor Malcomb Half emptied the Bowl. He was then told to mend his Draught, and drink the Queen's Health. Though he had done his utmost for the King, he found he must do something for the Queen ; and having taken off Half the Remainder of the Bowl, he presented it back to the Persons from whom he had received it. Hold ! hold ! cries his Friend, you are not to forget the rest of the Royal Family ; come, drink to the Prince of Wales. Replenish, replenish, cries the loyal American ; and instantly poor Malcomb saw two Quarts more of what he was heartily sick of. Make Haste, cries another loyal American ; you have nine more Healths to drink before you arrive at the Gallows. For God's Sake, Gentlemen, be merciful, I am ready to burst ; if I drink a Drop more, I shall die. Suppose you do, cries one of the Mob, you die in a good Cause, and it is as well to be drowned as hanged, and immediately the drenching Horn was put to his Mouth, to the Health of the Bishop of Osnaburg [the second son of the King], and, having gone through the other eight, he turned pale, shook his Head, and

instantly filled the Bowl which he had just emptied. What says the American, are you sick of the Royal Family? No, replies Malcomb, my Stomach nauseates the Tea; it rises at it like Poison. And yet, you Rascal, returns the American, your whole Fraternity at the Custom house would drench us with this Poison, and we are to have our Throats cut if it will not stay upon our Stomachs. The merciful Americans desisted and the Procession was continued towards the Gallows."

This cartoon, while ostensibly telling the story of an incident which occurred in this notorious case of tarring and feathering, had far greater significance. Entirely dependent for its sale upon its success in striking a sympathetic chord among the people of London, it depicted the opinion so freely expressed in the press, that the destruction of the tea at Boston was the natural result of the enforcement of a policy, which if carried out, would have poisoned the "Tree of Liberty" in the Colonies.

A study of the details of the picture shows that the cartoonist had more than a passing knowledge of affairs in America. The crude home-made garments in which he had clothed Malcomb's tormentors were surely suggestive of the inroads the newly started woolen manufactories of America had made into English trade. The

majestic LIBERTY TREE, from which a noose was suspended, had often been described in the press as the "Great Tree at the south part of the town." The depiction upon the trunk of the latter, of an inverted Stamp Act placard, is another illustration of the impression then prevalent, which was pointed out in the previous chapter, that the Stamp Act, though long since repealed, was the primary cause of the trouble then existing between Great Britain and her American subjects.

While the print pictured a special incident in the punishment of John Malcomb, it portrayed as well an "American custom" of tarring and feathering which was thoroughly familiar to those upon whose patronage the print-sellers depended for their livelihood, the English press having given to their readers numerous accounts of this method of "Paying the EXCISE-MAN" in America for the five years previous. It must be said, however, that this treatment was not seriously objected to by many in England, for as a rule it was known to have been accorded only to those who had acted as spies and informers, or to those who had become obnoxious to the majority on account of their refusal to abide by the articles of the Non-Importation Associations.

In the early part of March, 1774, the following item of news appeared in various Eng-

## THE BOSTON PORT BILL

lish papers. It called attention to the odium in which the consignees of the Boston tea were held, and possibly created the erroneous impression that Boston maintained a regularly organized Committee for "Tarring and Feathering":

"*Boston, Jan. 17.* On Saturday Morning the following was posted up in the most publick Parts of this Town.

"Brethren and Fellow Citizens!

"You may depend that those odious Miscreants and detestable Tools to Ministry and Governor, the *Tea Consignees* (those Traitors to their Country, Butchers, who have done, and are doing every Thing to murder and destroy all that shall stand in the Way of their private Interest) are determined to come and reside again in the Town of Boston.

"I therefore give you this early Notice, that you may hold yourselves in Readiness, on the shortest Notice, to give them such a Reception as such vile Ingrates deserve.

"JOYCE, jun.

Chairman of the Committee for Tarring and Feathering:

"If any Person should be so hardy as to tear this down, they may expect my severest Resentment.  
J. jun."

So thoroughly appreciated was this American custom in London at this time, that a "Tar-



#### DISAPPROVAL OF THE COLONIAL POLICY

ring and Feathering" scene was introduced into a Pantomime at the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden, and became one of the features of the evening, as may be learned from the comment on the play, given below, which was taken from the *London Chronicle* of November 19th-22nd, 1774:

"The new pastoral pantomime entertainment of the Druids was performed last night for the second time at the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden, with alterations. The revision it has undergone since Saturday evening has been of infinite service to the piece, a distinct chain of connection being now discernible through the whole; several absurdities are expunged, and a happy trick or two introduced in the pantomime; one of which, that of Pantaloon's receiving the American suit of 'tar and feathers' occasions an uncommon roar through the house. The audience being a more peaceable one than that which usually frequent a first performance, we could attend with more pleasure to the music, and therefore found just cause of approbation. The choruses are noble, particularly the last by the Druids, which is in every respect full and masterly."

The recognition of the appropriateness of clothing certain offenders in feather garments was not confined to London, for the Metropolitan press during the years 1770-1775 not in-

## THE BOSTON PORT BILL

frequently noted among other paragraphs of news from the towns along the coast of England, where smuggling was popularly regarded as a legitimate vocation, that certain energetic Excise-men had received from the irate people "American suits" or "American dresses," these terms being too thoroughly understood to need explanation.

As voicing the sentiment prevalent among certain classes in England concerning Lords North, Mansfield and Bute, as well as indicating the local appreciation of the new use found for TAR and FEATHERS in America, the Editor of the *Kentish Gazette* stated in the columns of his paper of February 2nd, 1775, that "A correspondent informs us that the following sentiment on a certain triumvirate is now the reigning toast:

May Feathers and Tar be the next Birth Day  
Suit,  
And the Block be the fate of N—— M—— and  
B——

He further remarks:

What so proper as Tar for so Scabby a flock,  
There is but one thing: that's their Heads on  
the Block."

There is every reason to believe that this sentiment was not confined to the neighbourhood of Canterbury, as during the next three





A New Method of MACARONY MAKING, as practised at BOSTON

For the Custom House Officers handling the Tea. | And they drink'd him so well both behind and before  
They Tarr'd him and Feather'd him, just as you see. | That he begg'd for God's sake they would dress him no more

1774.

Printed for Carrington Bowles at his Maj & Print Warehouse N° 69 in St Pauls Church Yard London Published as the Act directs Feb 29 1775

months' comments on the popularity of this toast appeared in at least three London newspapers.

Earlier in the same month another mezzotint cartoon, illustrating the same incident portrayed in the print just described had appeared for sale at the "Map & Print Warehouse of Carington Bowles, No. 69 in St. Paul's Church Yard, London."\* In this print the place of the Exciseman's revolt against tea drinking was pictured inaccurately as being, not at the Liberty Tree, but beneath the scaffold under which Malcomb had been kept for four long hours on a cold winter's evening before he complied with the demands for his resignation from the Customs-Service. The title, "A New Method of MACARONY MAKING, as practised at BOSTON." was undoubtedly suggested by the common report that Malcomb was to become a King's Pensioner. The verification of the rumour was thus noted in the *London Chronicle* of December 15th-17th, 1774, "The Exciseman who was tarred and feathered at Boston and lately arrived in England, has obtained a pension of 200£ per annum."

The phraseology of the inscription plainly

---

\* Carington Bowles also published under the same date a small mezzotint similar in all respects save size to the one here reproduced. It measured  $4\frac{7}{8}$  inches in width by  $5\frac{7}{8}$  inches in length and was entitled

"A New Method of MACARONY MAKING as practised at BOSTON  
in NORTH AMERICA."

and numbered 217. It lacked the verses found on the larger print.

bespeaks the friendly attitude of its designer toward the Bostonians and his desire to hold up to ridicule the Ministry and Court party, for at this period MACARONY, while primarily the name applied to a London exquisite, had degenerated into a term which implied contempt and derision. The print-sellers flouted in their windows countless portraits of "Macarony" doctors, artists, barbers, countesses, etc., and many contributors to the press of both prose and verse found this "race of people" pleasing subjects for their wit and satire. A touch of humour was injected into this cartoon by the droll expression upon the face of the participants and the doggerel verse inscribed below the title :

*For the Custom House Officers landing the Tea,  
They Tarr'd him, and Feather'd him, just as you see,  
And they drench'd him so well both behind and before,  
That he begg'd for God's sake they would drench him  
no more.*

Though this episode had no relation to the landing of the tea, yet such prominence had been given to the Administration's attempt to force tea upon America, that poetical license was taken in attributing the punishment meted out to the Exciseman as being retribution for the performance of duties in connection with the above stated project of the Ministry.

An interesting feature of the scene is the embellishment of the hat of one of the participants in the affair with the numerals 45, which may be taken as another indication of the cartoonist's knowledge of the sympathy of the English people with the cause of the Colonies, for since 1764 45 had been adopted by the followers of John Wilkes, then (1774) the popular Lord Mayor of London, as a symbol of their devotion to the cause he was upholding.

Any attempt to describe popular sentiment in England, and the strong compassion there felt for the Americans in their distress would woefully fail unless it contained the story of John Wilkes, member of Parliament, and the editor of the *North Briton*, No. 45. During the twelve years prior to the American Revolution John Wilkes had been regarded on both sides of the ocean, as the most persistent and virulent of those who were contending against the substitution of the royal prerogative for constitutional government, and his persecution by the Ministry, his trials and subsequent imprisonment, and his final successes excited the keenest interest in both countries. Wilkes was a gentleman by birth, a man of high education, a Fellow of the Royal Society, and a great lover of fine books. It may be appropriately noted here that in the latter portion of his life he republished limited editions of several

of the classics, one of these the "Poems of Catullus" he edited and printed in an edition consisting of three copies on vellum and one hundred on fine paper. Though a professing member of the Church of England, he was liberal in his tendencies and won many adherents among the followers of John Wesley by contributing to the fund collected for supporting and protecting the civil and religious rights of the Dissenters. Although assailed by contemporary writers and historians on account of his licentiousness, his morals were no worse than those of many then prominent in the Ministry and in public life, for the period was one of great moral laxity. His devotion to his daughter, his only child, was touching, and continued throughout his life and his loyalty to his friends was unquestioned. He had been High Sheriff of Buckinghamshire, Colonel of the local Militia, and in 1757 was elected Member of Parliament from his home county. On taking his seat in Parliament, he announced his adherence to the party of William Pitt.

Wilkes first became a prominent figure in English politics in 1763. It was at the time when the King was ridding himself of the support of the great Whig families and introducing into his council men thoroughly in sympathy with his ideas of the infallibility of the royal prerogative. His action in removing Pitt and ele-



vating Lord Bute, a Scotch nobleman, to the office of Prime Minister, gave England a shock which was felt by all classes, for the memories of the Jacobite Rebellion of 1745, originating as it did in Scotland, were still fresh.

Jealous of Pitt's successful prosecution of the war and his personal popularity thereby obtained, the King had resolved that the contest with France must be quickly ended. The betrayal of England's ally, Frederick the Great, King of Prussia, who was a popular hero in England and America, and an ignominious peace with England's inveterate enemies increased the indignation against the new "Favourite." For the purpose of educating the masses to support the royal policy, the pen of Tobias Smollett, the novelist, was purchased and funds were supplied him to carry on his weekly paper *The Briton*, in the columns of which Smollett made every effort to persuade the people of England that the policy of the new Administration was wisdom and perfection itself.

Wilkes was most extreme in his hatred of the Scotch and their influence with the King. With a view to counteracting the campaign of education now being waged in behalf of the Scotch Favourite, Wilkes started a paper which he called the *North Briton*. The opening sentence of its first number struck the popular fancy

and immediately gave this sheet a hold upon the community at large, for it boldly declared "the liberty of the Press is the birthright of a Briton and is justly esteemed the foremost bulwark of the liberties of this country." The lucid and brilliant pen of its editor, his powerful use of the bitterest sarcasm and his fearless discard of the innuendo, then considered a necessity by the writers in opposition to the Administration, soon had all England ridiculing the Government and admiring Wilkes. The sudden resignation of the Earl of Bute and the appointment to his office of George Grenville, the brother-in-law of Pitt and the brother of Earl Temple, the intimate friend of Wilkes, convinced the Editor of the *North Briton* that his paper had no further usefulness, hence after the forty-fourth number he suspended its publication.

The interesting story of the issuing of the *North Briton*, No. 45, must be dismissed with the brief statement that shortly before the prorogation of Parliament, Wilkes chanced to call on his friend Earl Temple, and found him engaged in discussing with Pitt the contents of the King's Speech, which was shortly to be delivered before Parliament, and a copy of which had been furnished Temple by his brother, the Prime Minister. The three agreed that the Speech was in no way a truthful exposition of

the affairs of the Nation, and that its tone demonstrated that the Favourite, though nominally no longer in office, was in reality the guiding spirit of the Throne.

Wilkes hurried home and wrote an article, which contained the essence of this conversation, and published it in the *North Briton*, No. 45, on April 23rd, 1763.

The article itself at first created no more general comment than previous onslaughts on the administration which had appeared in the *North Briton*. The King was very angry at the renewal of the attack, and instigated the issuing of a "General Warrant," under which Wilkes was arrested and committed to the Tower, his house searched, his private safes broken open, and his private papers stolen. The publishers and printers of the *North Briton* were placed under arrest and the machinery of the Courts put in motion to secure Wilkes' conviction for treason. At this lawless action all England was in a ferment, and even those who seldom voiced their opinion on public questions joined the Favourite's enemies in denouncing this new and radical procedure, which, if upheld, would have taken away all sense of security of private rights, and which was thus characterized by a great jurist: "This evidence was collected with as much violence, and with as little right by law, as some other collections

are made, for which the collectors are hanged when taken."

Wilkes secured his discharge from the Court upon the technical ground that, being a member of Parliament, he was privileged against arrest for the offences enumerated. The venomous treatment to which Wilkes had been subjected made his release from confinement a signal for public rejoicing. Undismayed by the hostility of the Crown, Wilkes, upon the advice of Earl Temple and his counsel, Mr. Serjeant Glynn, sent the Secretaries of State a letter in which he stated that on his return home he found that his house had been robbed and that he had been informed that the stolen property was in the possession of their Lordships, and insisted on the return of the same.

The next day he unsuccessfully attempted to obtain a warrant to search for the stolen goods. The correspondence which took place between Wilkes and the Secretaries, in his efforts to secure the return of his papers, was made the basis for another attempt by the King to secure Wilkes' conviction for treason.

Wilkes then brought actions for false imprisonment against the Secretaries of State and all other persons who had had a hand in his arrest. The cost of these actions was defrayed by Earl Temple, without whose necessary assist-

ance the King would not have received the sudden check to the arbitrary course he had inaugurated. The whole power of the Ministry was called into play against Wilkes. The suits were defended at the expense of the Government. Despite every effort Wilkes won his case and was awarded heavy damages. The Government admitted that the cost of their attempt to suppress the *North Briton*, No. 45 amounted to one hundred thousand pounds sterling.

Wilkes then decided to issue complete sets of the *North Briton*, but not finding printers willing to endanger their liberty by printing the edition, he was obliged to set up a printing press in his own home.

In the middle of November Parliament was opened and the attack upon Wilkes was renewed. The venal majority in the House of Commons passed a resolution, which declared that the paper entitled the *North Briton*, No. 45 "is a false, scandalous, and seditious libel etc." and ordered its contents to be publicly burned by the common hangman.

This motion was strenuously opposed by many who dreaded the effect of the growing domination of the King over the liberties of the people. Pitt spoke no less than forty times against it. The indignation at its passage was such that when the hangman was about to com-

mit the copy of the *North Briton*, No. 45 to the flames, he was forced to burn in its place a boot and a petticoat, symbols of Lord Bute and the King's mother, whose relations with each other were the subject of severe criticism. One of Wilkes' printers, who was sentenced to the pillory for his part in the reprinting No. 45, was taken to the stand in a coach marked "45," and presented with a purse containing £200, the proceeds of a collection there made in his behalf. By the bold position he had taken, Wilkes had thus won for himself a warm spot in the hearts of all who had England's true interests at heart.

With a view of weakening Wilkes' hold upon the people a bitter attack was next made upon him in the House of Lords. The charge there laid against him was for printing at his private press a portion of the "Essay on Woman," a licentious parody on Pope's "Essay on Man." This attack failed in its purpose, being led by the Earl of Sandwich, a notorious libertine, who gained therein the sobriquet "Jemmy Twitcher," by which he was derisively known in England and America during the rest of his life. The hypocrisy and maliciousness of this persecution was so apparent that the popular estimation in which Wilkes was held was little lessened.

Wilkes was forced into a duel by a member of the House of Commons desirous of currying favour with the King, and before he had fully recovered from the wound therein received, and while absent on a visit to his daughter in France, on January 19th, 1764, was expelled from the House for having written the article which had given fame to the *North Briton*, No. 45. He was then tried and found guilty in the court of King's Bench of republishing *The North Briton* No. 45, and for printing a portion of the "Essay on Woman," the evidence for which offence had been stolen from his house. Failing to appear either to defend his case or to receive his sentence, Wilkes was declared by the Court to be an outlaw. The King had finally won, but at the cost of alienating the friends of constitutional government in England.

After having remained abroad for four years Wilkes returned to London in 1768 and solicited a pardon without avail, although the Ministry deemed that the granting of this request would have removed Wilkes from the pedestal of martyrdom upon which popular opinion had placed him. The predicament of the Administration was thus aptly described by the Bishop of Carlisle in a letter to Lord Grenville: "The ministers are embarrassed to the last degree how to act with regard to Wilkes. It seems they are

afraid to ask the King for his pardon, as that is a subject his majesty will not easily hear the least mention of; and they are apprehensive if he has it not, that the mob of London will rise in his favour, which God forbid."

Wilkes then dauntlessly announced himself as a candidate for Parliament from the City of London. Failing of election by a narrow margin, he offered himself to the Freeholders of the County of Middlesex and was by them elected to the House of Commons by an overwhelming vote.

The ovation Wilkes received from the people and the press, again warned the Ministry that his supporters were too great a factor to be disregarded, and further unsuccessful attempts were made by the King's advisers to secure the royal pardon.

On technical grounds, however, Wilkes secured from the Court the reversal of his outlawry, and now appeared before the Court of King's Bench to receive the sentence for the offenses he had been found guilty of four years before. The punishment prescribed consisted of twenty-two months' imprisonment and a fine of £1000, besides the giving of surety for his good behaviour for seven years. On his way to prison the populace captured the carriage, drove away his guards and drew him in triumph through London. Wilkes' adherents then qui-



eted down, for it was reported that their idol would be released in time to take his seat in the Parliament which was to open the 10th of May, 1768. On the morning of that day an immense gathering appeared before the prison in St. George's-Fields and awaited the outcoming of their hero. Fearing a demonstration, the Ministry had provided a regiment of troops to quell any attempted attack upon the jail. Upon some riotous proceeding the soldiers fired upon the assemblage and the "affair of St. George's" in England redounded against the Administration with a force similar to that set in motion in America by the "Boston Massacre."

Seven months after this event Wilkes forwarded from his prison, to one of the London papers, a copy of the order, conceived some three weeks before the event occurred, for the presence of the troops at St. George's, and sent with it a caustic letter in which he denounced the Ministry for deliberately planning the murder of his supporters.

For this Wilkes was summoned from his prison quarters to the Bar of the House of Commons where he defiantly defended his action. His expulsion for this and previous affairs followed, after long debate, on the 3rd of February, 1769. Within less than two weeks he was returned to Parliament, without opposition, by the

Freeholders of Middlesex. Upon being declared ineligible to serve in Parliament, he was again returned less than a month later and again his election was declared void.

The Administration saw the necessity of taking a hand in the next election, and selected as a candidate in opposition one Colonel Luttrell, who though already a member of Parliament, offered his services to the King, as a candidate against Wilkes. Although all the influences and resources of the Crown strenuously supported Luttrell, and the forces of bribery and corruption were called into play in his behalf, such was the integrity of the men of Middlesex that Wilkes was returned for the fourth time, and by the astonishing vote of nearly four to one. Notwithstanding this, the House of Commons resolved that Luttrell was duly elected to represent the county of Middlesex in Parliament. The wave of indignation which passed through England at the time of the "General Warrants" in 1763 was not a circumstance to the storm which followed the virtual denial by the House of Commons of the right of electors to choose their own representative. It was felt that if this action should be allowed to pass unnoticed, it would form a precedent for the House of Commons to allow the seating of only such representatives of the people as were satisfactory to that body.

## DISAPPROVAL OF THE COLONIAL POLICY

The press and the pamphleteers drew a parallel between the American Colonists, who were unrepresented, and the electors of England, who thus might be represented only by those pleasing to the Administration, and the cry of "Wilkes and Liberty" resounded through England.

Numerous engraved portraits of Wilkes appeared on sale ; the cartoonists rallied in his behalf, the medallists found him a profitable subject for their dies, and the potters modelled him in their clay. Of all the reminders of the days when the cry of "Wilkes and Liberty" was resounding through Great Britain and America, possibly none is more interesting than the Chelsea-Derby statuette, an engraving of which ends this chapter. In this statuette Duesbury pictured Wilkes as the gallant gentleman that he was, leaning pen in hand upon a pedestal upon the top of which the "Magna Charta" and "Bill of Rights" rested. In the foreground a lusty babe upholding the Liberty Cap fittingly personified the Liberty of the People, with the defense of which Wilkes was so closely identified, while Constitutional Government was represented by the volume labelled "Locke on Government."

Attempts were made by Lord Chatham and others to revoke the expulsion of Wilkes. Taking their cue from a custom then well established

in the American Colonies, town meetings were held throughout England, and demanded a Dissolution of Parliament. The Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London, in person presented to the King a protest which declared "that the majority of the House of Commons had done a deed more ruinous in its consequences than the levying of ship money by Charles the First and the dispensing power of James the Second."

In the mean time Wilkes was faring sumptuously in prison. Gifts of money and luxuries were showered upon him from all quarters of Great Britain and America. The leaders of the Whig party called on him and their ladies held receptions in his quarters. The press noted: "The ladies, if possible, exceed the men in their marks of respect for Mr. Wilkes; and it is common enough to see them deck their children with garlands composed of laurel and ribbands of blue, whilst infants, just taught to articulate words, may be heard in every corner prattling of 'Wilkes and Liberty.'" A Society composed of the "Supporters of the Bill of Rights" was formed in 1769 for the purpose of liquidating the debts of Wilkes, which had been created partly by his own extravagance, and partly by endorsement of the notes of friends. Nearly £20,000 was raised in this way, contributions being forwarded from all parts of the British dominions.

## DISAPPROVAL OF THE COLONIAL POLICY

With a view of demonstrating the bond of sympathy existing between the large number of Englishmen who idolized Wilkes as the defender of their constitutional rights and those in America who were striving to maintain the freedom of government accorded by the charters, the following article is reprinted from the *London Chronicle* of June 28th—30th, 1770:

“The following is a genuine copy of a letter sent by a Committee of the Supporters of the Bill of Rights to the Honourable the Commons House of Assembly of South Carolina, in answer to the letter from the Assembly of South Carolina, (containing a subscription to the Society of fifteen hundred pounds sterling), which was some time since published in this paper. The noble spirit of universal liberty and benevolence, which breathes throughout this epistle, must, we suppose, make it affecting to every son of freedom, in every quarter of the globe.

‘*To the Honourable the COMMONS HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY of SOUTH CAROLINA.*

*Gentlemen,*

‘We are directed by the Society, Supporters  
‘of the Bill of Rights, to transmit to you their  
‘thanks for the very honourable testimony you  
‘have at once given of your own sentiments, and  
‘of your approbation of their conduct.

## THE BOSTON PORT BILL

‘The same spirit of union and mutual assistance, which dictated your vote, in our favour, animates this Society. We shall ever consider the rights of all our fellow subjects throughout the British Empire, in England, Scotland, Ireland, and America, as stones of one arch on which the happiness and security of the whole are founded. Such would have been our principle of action if the system of Despotism, which has been adopted, had been more artfully conducted; and we should as readily have associated in the defence of your rights as our own, had they been separately attacked.

‘But Providence has mercifully allotted to depraved hearts weak understandings: The attack has been made by the same man, at the same time, on both together, and will serve only to draw us closer together in one great band of mutual friendship and support.

‘Whilst the Norman troops of the first William kept the English in subjection, his English soldiers were employed to secure the obedience of the Normans. This management has been too often repeated now to succeed.

‘There was a time when Scotland, though then a separate and divided nation, could avoid the snare, and refused, even under their own Stuarts, to enslave their ancient enemies. The

‘ chains which England and Scotland disdained  
 ‘ to forge for each other, England and America  
 ‘ shall never consent to furnish.

‘ Property is the natural right of mankind ;  
 ‘ the connexion between taxation and representa-  
 ‘ tion is its necessary consequence. This con-  
 ‘ nexion is now broken, and taxes are attempted  
 ‘ to be levied both on England and America by  
 ‘ men who are not their respective representa-  
 ‘ tives. Our cause is one—our enemies are the  
 ‘ same. We trust our constancy and conduct will  
 ‘ not differ. Demands which are made without  
 ‘ authority should be heard without obedience.

‘ In this, and in every other constitutional  
 ‘ struggle on either side of the Atlantic, we wish  
 ‘ to be united with you ; and are as ready to give  
 ‘ as to receive assistance.

‘ We desire you, Gentlemen, to be persuaded,  
 ‘ that under all our domestic grievances and ap-  
 ‘ prehensions, the freedom of America is our  
 ‘ particular attention ; and these your public act  
 ‘ and solemn engagement afford us a pleasing  
 ‘ presage, and confirm our hopes, that when lux-  
 ‘ ury, misrule and corruption shall at length, in  
 ‘ spite of all resistance, have destroyed this noble  
 ‘ constitution here, our posterity will not, like  
 ‘ your gallant ancestors, be driven to an inhospitable  
 ‘ shore, but will find a welcome refuge,  
 ‘ where they may still enjoy the rights of Eng-

## THE BOSTON PORT BILL

‘lishmen amongst their fellow subjects, the descendants and brothers of Englishmen.

‘We are, Gentlemen,

‘With the greatest respect,

‘Your most obedient servants and

‘Affectionate fellow-subjects,

‘Signed John Glynn, Chairman.

‘Richard Oliver,	}	Treasurers.
‘John Trevanion,		
‘Robert Bernard,	}	Committee.’ ”
‘Joseph Mawbey,		
‘James Townsend,		
‘John Sawbridge,		

The struggles of Wilkes excited no less interest in America than in England. His success created enthusiasm, and his misfortunes deepened the indignation against the Ministry. The symbol 45 was freely used in public decoration (see pages 39, 114, 162). Few public functions broke up without the toasting of his name. His portraits were engraved, and his name was considered one to conjure with. The advertisement for “Bickerstaff’s Boston Almanack” in the fall of 1768 announced that it was embellished with a portrait of “JOHN WILKES, The Celebrated PATRON of LIBERTY.” Paul Revere, engraver, silversmith and patriot, in executing an order given by fifteen Sons of Liberty, in Boston, for a silver punch bowl dedicated “To *the Memory*



*of the glorious NINETY-TWO Members of the Hon<sup>bl</sup> House of Representatives of the Massachusetts-Bay, who, undaunted by the insolent Menaces of Villains in Power, from a strict Regard to Conscience and the LIBERTIES of their Constituents, on the 30th of June 1768, Voted NOT TO RESCIND,*" ornamented it with a crude design consisting of a wreath surmounted by a Liberty Cap encircling the symbol "No. 45," the legend "Wilkes & Liberty," and a torn parchment marked "Generall Warrants," and enflanked with two flags labelled "Magna Charta" and "Bill of Rights." This device in a highly refined form encircles the portrait of Wilkes with which this chapter ends.

Through letters from America which appeared in their press, the English people were informed that Americans looked upon the cause of Wilkes as their own. The following account of one of the demonstrations in Wilkes' honour, which appeared in the *London Chronicle* August 13th-16th, 1768, may be considered as a fair description of numerous similar gatherings held in Wilkes' honour in this country.

"*New-London, June 12.* We hear from Norwich, that last Tuesday a number of the principal Gentlemen of that town, had an entertainment at Mr. Peck's Tavern, adjoining the Liberty-Tree, on account of Mr. Wilkes's be-

ing chosen a Member of Parliament. All the furniture of the table, as dishes, plates, bowls, &c. were marked with Number 45. A variety of healths were drank, among which were that of the King, the Queen, Mr. Wilkes, &c.—The Tree of Liberty, we hear, is decorated with number 45, Wilkes and Liberty.”

In 1771 Wilkes was elected one of the Sheriffs of London. In the same year he was bitterly assailed by a former zealous supporter, the Rev. John Horne [Tooke.] Among other misrepresentations made in this controversy was the one that “Wilkes always hated the Americans and was a declared foe of their liberties.”

Wilkes replied in a lengthy letter which appeared in the *London Chronicle* of June 13th-15th, 1771, and in refutation of this special charge, quoted (writing over them the word “COPY”) the following letters written by him while in prison “as giving to the world my opinion of the American contest.”

*King's Bench Prison,*  
*July 19, 1768.*

GENTLEMEN,

I Am extremely honoured by your Letter, and the valuable present, which accompanied it. Nothing cou'd give me more satisfaction than to find the true spirit of Liberty so generally diffused through the most remote parts of the

British Monarchy. I thank you very heartily for the generous and rational entertainment of the *Farmer's Letters*, in which the cause of freedom is perfectly understood, and ably defended.

As a Member of the Legislature, I shall always give a particular attention to whatever respects the *interests of America, which I believe to be immediately connected with, and of essential moment to our parent country, and the common welfare of this great political system.* After the first claims of duty to England, and of gratitude to the County of Middlesex, none shall engage me more than the affairs of our Colonies, which I consider as the *propugnacula imperii*, and I know how much of our strength and weight we owe to, and derive from them.

I will ever, Gentlemen, AVOW MYSELF A FRIEND TO UNIVERSAL LIBERTY. I hope freedom will ever flourish under *your hemisphere as well as our's*; and I doubt not, from your spirit and firmness, that you will be careful to transmit to your posterity the invaluable rights and franchises, which you received from your ancestors. *Liberty* I consider as the birthright of *every* subject of the British Empire, and I hold *Magna Charta* to be in as full force in *America* as in *Europe*. I hope that these truths will become generally known and acknowledged through the wide extended dominions of our Sovereign, and

that a real *union* of the *whole* will prevail *to save the whole*, and to guard the public Liberty, if invaded by despotic Ministers, in the most remote equally as in the central parts of this vast Empire.

It shall be the study of my life, Gentlemen, to give you and all my fellow-subjects the clearest proofs that I have at heart the welfare and prosperity of every part of this great Monarchy. The only ambition I feel is to distinguish myself as a *Friend of the rights of Mankind, both religious and civil*, as a Man zealous for the preservation of this Constitution and our *Sovereign*, WITH ALL OUR LAWS AND NATIVE LIBERTIES THAT ASK NOT HIS LEAVE, if I may use the expression of *Milton*. My conduct shall be steady and uniform, directed in every point by an obedience to the LAWS, and a reverence to the Constitution.

The favourable opinion, which you are pleased to express of me, is a great encouragement and a noble reward of my efforts in the service of this Kingdom. I hope to shew myself not quite unworthy of an honour, which I feel as I ought. I am, with great regard,

Gentlemen, your obliged,

and faithful, humble servant,

John Wilkes.

*To the Gentlemen of the Committee of the Sons of Liberty in the Town of Boston.*

DISAPPROVAL OF THE COLONIAL POLICY

*King's Bench Prison,*

*March 30, 1769.*

GENTLEMEN,

I Should sooner have acknowledged the very great honour of the letter Captain Bruce delivered to me, but from a real tenderness for you, and the other friends of Liberty in America, still more than from my own important concerns. I did hope that the spirit of persecution, which had gone forth against you, would have abated, and that I should have had it in my power to congratulate you on the *recovery of your rights*. If I had been permitted to take my seat in the House of Commons, I should have been eager to move the *repeal of the late Act*, which lays the new duties on paper, paint, and other articles. I would have done this from the full persuasion not only of that Act's being highly impolitic and inexpedient, but, in my idea, likewise absolutely unjust and unconstitutional, a direct violation of the great fundamental principles of British Liberty. The present session has been in many instances most unfavourable to public Liberty, but I hope that the next, and a more upright Administration, will restore *all* the subjects of the British Empire to the possession of their rights, and I wish to enjoy the satisfaction of contributing to so noble a work.

I have read with grief and indignation the

proceedings of the Ministry with regard to the troops ordered to Boston, as if it were the capital of a province belonging to our enemies, or in the possession of rebels. Asiatic despotism does not present a picture more odious in the eye of humanity than the sanctuary of justice and law turned into a main guard. I admire exceedingly your prudence and temper on so intricate an occasion, maintaining at the same time your own dignity and the true spirit of Liberty. By this wise and excellent conduct you have disappointed your enemies, and convinced your friends that an entire reliance is to be had on the Supporters of Freedom at Boston in every occurrence, however delicate or dangerous. Your moderation prevented the effusion of blood, which we have seen by the military in St. George's-Fields on the most frivolous pretext, and in the most inhuman way.

I submit to you, Gentlemen, the propriety of a publication of any letters, which may pass between us. You are the true judges of what respects the *new world*. Perhaps while I am doomed to this prison, unfair advantages might be taken *here* against me, which I should find it difficult to overcome. I leave however the whole to your mature consideration, with the truest assurances that *in whatever way I can serve the generous cause of Liberty I will be active and zealous*. You will

always oblige me by pointing out the particulars respecting yourselves.

I am, Gentlemen, with Truth and Regard,  
your affectionate, and faithful, humble Ser-  
vant,

John Wilkes.

*To the Gentlemen of the Committee of the Sons of  
Liberty in the Town of Boston.*

During his term as Sheriff, Wilkes availed himself of his official position in again asserting and defending the Liberty of the Press. The news sheets little by little were commencing to publish the substance of the debates which took place in the House of Commons. This was done in direct opposition to a resolution of that body holding that it was a breach of privilege to print "any account of the debates or other proceedings of this House . . . . and that this House will proceed with the utmost severity against such offenders."

The House of Commons decided to enforce this, and two offending printers R. Thompson, the printer of the *Gazeteer*, and John Wheble, the printer of the *Middlesex Journal*, were ordered before it for trial.

Wilkes persuaded his friends, the Lord Mayor, and Alderman Oliver, to thwart the enforcement of this order in the City of London. The two printers failed to present themselves at the bar of

the House, and concealed themselves from the law officers. At the request of the House, the King issued a proclamation offering fifty pounds for the arrest of each of the offending printers. With a view of securing the reward, a journeyman printer arrested Wheble and brought him to the Guildhall, for which service Wilkes, who had been elected Alderman and was then sitting as Magistrate, promptly committed him for assault and discharged his prisoner. John Miller, the publisher of the *London Evening Post*, was also arrested by an officer of the Court. For this act in the performance of his duty, the latter was committed to jail by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen Oliver and Wilkes.

The House of Commons then ordered the Lord Mayor and Alderman Oliver to be imprisoned in the Tower, and Wilkes to present himself before the bar of the House. Though twice ordered to appear Wilkes each time refused, and the House not daring to take further measures against this defender of the people, dropped the matter, and made no further attempt to prevent the publishing of the news of their proceedings. While serving as Alderman of the City of London, Wilkes, in 1774, was elected Mayor of that city, an office at the time more coveted and carrying with it greater honour and dignity than any elective position in England. In the same year,



he was returned to Parliament for the fifth time, by the Freeholders of Middlesex, and upon taking his seat, actively opposed the measures which were being enacted against the people of Boston and Massachusetts-Bay. Such was Wilkes' popularity in America that many in England advocated, as a solution of American troubles, his appointment as Governor of Massachusetts-Bay.

Evidence that the two cartoons\* which form the subject of this chapter had free circulation in London is furnished by the following item, which appeared under the heading of London News in the *Kentish Gazette* of May 23rd, 1775. "An American Officer appeared at the Masquerade the other night, *tarred and feathered*, just as he is represented in the print shops, to the no small diversion of the company."

Rarely interesting as are these cartoons in recalling an almost forgotten incident in our country's history, they have a yet greater value in that they evidence the local appreciation of the justice of the Colonies' refusal to acquiesce in the attempt of the administration to force the

---

\* Proof of their popularity among the London public, is also evinced by the fact that on June 2nd, 1775, Carington Bowles used the same derisive wording and verses, which appeared on the print last described, as the legend upon a folio line engraving, in which Malcomb was pictured as being lowered by ropes from the window of his house into a cart, preparatory to receiving his "American suit" from the irate Bostonians. The title of this line engraving differed from that of the mezzotint cartoon only in the addition of the words "in NORTH AMERICA" after BOSTON.

## THE BOSTON PORT BILL

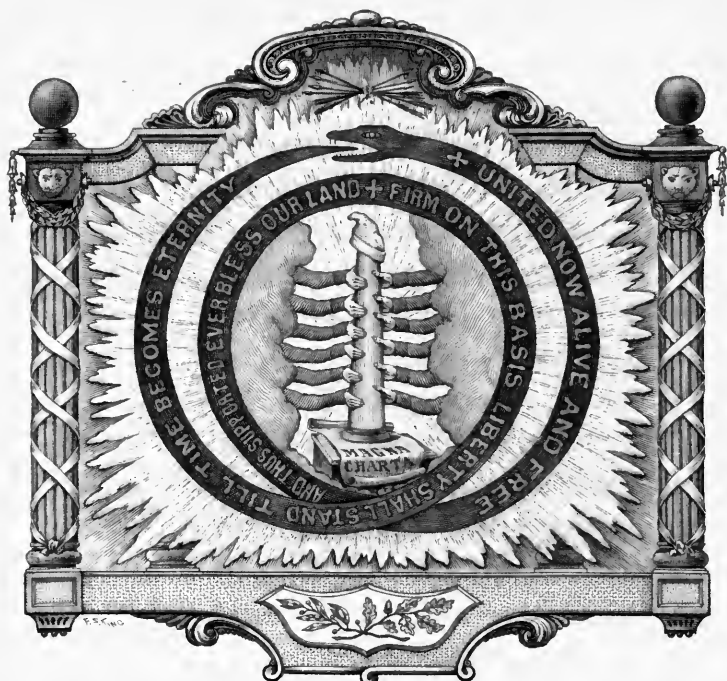
tea down the throat of America. This is demonstrated by the fact that the account of the one droll incident that had occurred in this notoriously brutal and inhuman treatment accorded a King's Excise-man at Boston, was thus utilized for commercial purposes by two of the most consequential British print-sellers, to delineate humourously and with obvious moral the determination expressed by the people of America to resent strongly an insidious attack on their liberty. The impression the treatment of Malcomb made upon the Crown will be discussed in the following chapter.



III  
BRITISH INDIGNATION AT THE  
PUNISHMENT OF  
BOSTON

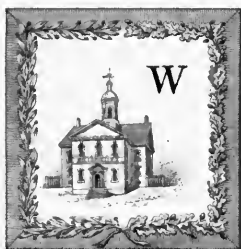
—





### III

## BRITISH INDIGNATION AT THE PUNISHMENT OF BOSTON



WHEN the first reports of the apparently wanton destruction of the tea at Boston reached England late in January, 1774, it was the almost universal verdict of the English people that Boston must be punished, and the supremacy of the King and Parliament in America upheld. On the 14th of March, 1774, Lord North, the Prime Minister, acting under instructions from the Ministry, presented to the House of Com-

## THE BOSTON PORT BILL

mons a Bill entitled “*An ACT to discontinue, in such manner, and for such time as are therein mentioned, the landing and discharging, lading or shipping of goods, wares, and merchandize, at the town, and within the harbour of Boston, in the Province of Massachusetts-Bay, in North-America.*”

This Act was destined to go down to history under the name of The BOSTON PORT BILL, and finally brought to an issue the vital question which had so long agitated the people of England and America. It ordained that “from and after the FIRST DAY OF JUNE, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-four, it shall not be lawful for any person or persons whatsoever to lade or put, or cause or procure to be laden or put, off or from any quay, wharf, or other place, within the said town of Boston, or in or upon any part of the shore of the bay, commonly called the harbour of Boston, between a certain headland or point called NAHANT POINT, on the Eastern side of the entrance into the said bay, and a certain other headland or point called ALDERTON POINT, on the Western side of the entrance into the said bay, or in or upon any island, creek, landing-place, bank, or other place, within the said bay or headlands, into any ship, vessel, lighter, boat, or bottom, any goods, wares, or merchandize whatsoever, to be transported or carried into any other country, province, or place what-

## INDIGNATION AT THE PUNISHMENT OF BOSTON

soever, or into any other part of the said province of the Massachusetts-Bay, in New England; or to take up, discharge, or lay on land, or cause or procure to be taken up, discharged, or laid on land, within the said town, or in or upon any of the places aforesaid, out of any boat, lighter, ship, vessel, or bottom, any goods, wares, or merchandize, whatsoever, to be brought from any other country, province or place, or any other part of the said province of the Massachusetts-Bay, in New-England, upon pain of the forfeiture of the said goods, wares, and merchandize, and of the said boat, lighter, ship, vessel, or other bottom into which the same shall be put, or out of which the same shall be taken, and of the guns, ammunition, tackle, furniture, and stores, in or belonging to the same: And if any such goods, wares, or merchandize, shall, within the said town, or in any of the places aforesaid, be laden or taken in from the shore into any barge, hoy, lighter, wherry, or boat, to be carried on board any ship or vessel outward bound to any other country or province, or other part of the said province of the Massachusetts-Bay, in New-England, or be laden or taken into such barge, hoy, lighter, wherry, or boat, from or out of any ship or vessel coming in and arriving from any other country or province, or other part of the said province of the Massachusetts-Bay, in New-

## THE BOSTON PORT BILL

England, such barge, hoy, lighter, wherry, or boat shall be forfeited and lost."

While the Act aimed to destroy the commerce from which the Bostonians derived their livelihood, the stipulation was made that it should not extend "to any fuel or victual brought coastwise from any part of the continent of America, for the necessary use and sustenance of the inhabitants of the said town of Boston, provided the vessel wherein the same are to be carried shall be duly furnished with a cocket and let-pass, after having been duly searched by the proper officers of his Majesty's customs at Marblehead, in the port of Salem, in the said province of Massachusetts-Bay; and that some officer of his Majesty's customs be also there put on board the said vessel, who is hereby authorized to go on board, and proceed with the said vessel, together with a sufficient number of persons, properly armed for his defence, to the said town or harbour of Boston.

The Bill was to remain in force until it should appear to the King that "peace and obedience to the laws shall be so far restored in the said town of Boston that the trade of Great Britain may be safely carried on there and his Majesty's customs duly collected" and "that full satisfaction hath been made by or on behalf of the inhabitants of the said town of Boston to



## INDIGNATION AT THE PUNISHMENT OF BOSTON

the united company of merchants of England trading to the East Indies, for the damage sustained by the said company by the destruction of their goods sent to the said town of Boston, on board certain ships or vessels as aforesaid; and until it shall be certified to his Majesty, in Council, by the Governor, or Lieutenant Governor, of the said province, that reasonable satisfaction hath been made to the officers of his Majesty's revenue, and others, who suffered by the riots and insurrections above-mentioned, in the months of November and December, in the year one thousand seven hundred and seventy-three, and in the month of January, in the year of one thousand seven hundred and seventy-four."

The reasons given for the necessity of this action were that "dangerous commotions and insurrections have been fomented and raised in the town of Boston, in the province of Massachusetts-Bay, in New-England, by divers ill-affected persons, to the subversion of his Majesty's government, and to the utter destruction of the public peace, and good order of the said town; in which commotions and insurrections certain valuable cargoes of teas, being the property of the East-India company, and on board certain vessels lying within the bay or harbour of Boston, were seized and destroyed: And

whereas, in the present condition of the said town and harbour, the commerce of his Majesty's subjects cannot be safely carried on there, nor the customs payable to his Majesty duly collected; and it is therefore expedient that the officers of his Majesty's customs should be forthwith removed from the said town."

Eight days after the reading of this Bill there was presented to the House of Commons a petition which was immediately published in the press under the title of "The humble petition of several NATIVES and INHABITANTS of NORTH AMERICA," then in London. Drawn up in terms of the greatest loyalty and respect it called attention to the fact that the measures against Boston were violating what was considered to be "an inviolable rule of natural justice, that no man should be condemned unheard, and that according to law no person or persons can be judged without being called upon to answer, and being permitted to hear the evidence against them and to make their defence."

The petition further stated that if the people of Boston were punished unheard, that under such a precedent "no man or body of men in America could enjoy a moment's security: For if judgment be immediately to follow an accusation against the people of America, supported even by persons notoriously at enmity with them,

## INDIGNATION AT THE PUNISHMENT OF BOSTON

the accused unacquainted with the charge, and from the nature of the situation utterly incapable of answering and defending themselves, every fence against false accusation would be pulled down, justice will be no longer their shield, nor innocence an exemption from punishment."

It maintained that "law in America ministers redress for any injury sustained there" and cited the fair trial and favourable verdict accorded to Captain Preston and his soldiers for their part in the "Boston Massacre." The petition stated in addition that there had been no instance in which Parliament had ever attempted to punish a city for a civil offence, without redress having first been sought at common law, and referred to certain historic cases of Parliamentary punishment of municipalities, notably that of Edinburgh in which the punishment was not accorded until after the city had been heard in its defence. Its closing portions contained the statement that "the petitioners thought themselves bound to declare that they apprehend such a proceeding of excessive rigour and injustice will sink deep in the minds of their countrymen, and tend to alienate their affection from this country."

This petition in no way attempted to excuse the destruction of property in Boston; it only protested against the injustice of punishing a city

## THE BOSTON PORT BILL

without allowing it to be heard in its own defence. It was given wide circulation in the press, and its arguments formed the basis of numerous editorial comments and "Letters to the Printer"—for such summary methods of punishment as proposed by the new Bill were at variance with the British people's sense of justice. The substance of the debates upon the Bill itself were fully reported in the newspapers, for the victories won by Wilkes in behalf of the liberty of the press, were now bearing fruit. Such was considered the enormity of the offence committed by Boston, that sentiment in the House of Commons was divided only as to the form of punishment to be inflicted upon the Bostonians, for of their guilt there was, at the time, apparently no question.

The opponents of the Bill made every endeavour to have the punishment to be meted out to the Bostonians take the form of a fine of "£15,000, which would make amends to the East-India Company, and in some measure be a relief to the custom house officer [Malcomb] who has been tarred and feathered." Its supporters advanced among other arguments in its behalf "that the Americans were a strange set of people, and that it was in vain to expect any degree of reasoning from them; that instead of [proving] their claim by argument, they always

chose to decide the matter by tarring and feathering, that the method now proposed in the bill would become more a punishment by their refusal than by their compliance; that the Americans alone were the persons by whose behaviour the lenity or severity of the measure was to be proved."

The sponsor of the bill, Lord North, in urging its passage, stated that many years ago the Bostonians had commenced to endeavour to throw off all obedience to Great Britain, and that now for the first time Parliament was proceeding to punish them. In offering other reasons for the necessity of the measure he said: "I am by no means an enemy to lenient measures, but I find that resolutions of censure and warning will avail nothing; we must therefore proceed to some immediate remedy; now is our time to stand out—to defy them; to proceed with firmness and without fear. That it would be enough to show that Great Britain was in earnest." He predicted that no armed force would be necessary to put the Act into execution, that "four or five frigates will do the business" (see page 175) and expressed the belief and hope that the rest of the Colonies would see the justice and propriety of the punishment and leave Boston to its fate. His argument ended with the following exhortation to the members

of the House present: "Let us continue to proceed with firmness, justice and resolution; which if pursued will certainly produce that due obedience and respect to the laws of this country, and the security of the trade of its people, which I so ardently wish for." The events of the next year proved how little Lord North understood the temperament of the people of America.

Another opponent of the measure under discussion gave warning to Parliament that the Bill in shutting off the trade of Boston would in reality result in the punishment of the merchants and manufacturers of Great Britain, whose trade, dependent largely upon the American Colonies, would again be subject to great curtailment.

George Dempster, a member from Scotland, bitterly assailed the proposed action of the Ministry and gloried in the fact that he had assisted in the repeal of the Stamp Act, claiming that the disorders in America had arisen solely from the attempt of Parliament to tax America through the "odious stamp act." He also questioned the right of Parliament to place in the King's hand the decision as to when the Port of Boston should be reinstated in its rights. Dempster made a further plea for justice to Boston, and declared that it was beneath the dignity of Parliament to concern itself in the disputes then taking place between the King and the

Colonies, for the latter should be "treated as children and cherished and nourished and protected."

Charles James Fox framed his attack on the portion of the Bill which "vested the power to restore the Port in the Crown alone," and bitterly assailed its sponsors for providing that the persecution against the Bostonians should not cease, until the King himself was satisfied that the spirit of Boston was broken.

The closing scenes of the debate were marked by very great excitement, for Van, of the Administration party, declared that "The town of Boston ought to be knocked about their ears and destroyed, 'Delenda est Carthago,'" and voiced the opinion that "you will never meet with that proper obedience to the laws of this country until you have destroyed that nest of locusts."

Up to this time that stalwart defender of the rights of the Colonies, Col. Barré, had not opposed the new measure, but stirred by the words of the last speaker, he arose and denounced the Bill as the first vengeful step which had been taken. In the closing portion of his speech (which is here reprinted from the press accounts of the debate), Barré called attention to the fact that the punishment of Boston was only another form of the taxation which was the cause of all the troubles between Parliament and the Ameri-

## THE BOSTON PORT BILL

can Colonies. "We ought to go coolly," he said, "to this business and not trouble our heads with who passed or who repealed the Stamp Act or other Taxes. We are to proceed *rebus sic talibus*, I hate the word fine; it is a Tax, and as long as I sit here among you I will oppose the taxing of America. This bill, I am afraid, draws in the fatal doctrine of submitting to taxation; it is also a doubt by this bill whether the port is to be restored to the full extent. Keep your hands out of the pockets of the Americans and they will be obedient subjects. I have not a doubt but a very small part of our strength will, at any time, overpower them. I think this bill a moderate one; but I argue that the next proposition will be a black one. You have not a loom or an anvil but what is stamped with America; it is the main prop of your trade. Parliament may fancy that they have rights in theory which they can never reduce to practice. America employs all your workmen here; nourish and protect it, that they may be supported."

The Bill passed the House of Commons without division and was sent to the House of Lords, where its passage was strenuously combated by the Earl of Chatham, the Duke of Richmond, and Lord Camden and vigourously advocated by the Earl of Mansfield, who urged the necessity of immediate action, declaring



## INDIGNATION AT THE PUNISHMENT OF BOSTON

“The Americans will then know that we shall temporize no longer ; if it passes with tolerable unanimity, Boston will submit, and all will end with victory without carnage.”

The Bill again passed without division and received the King's Assent seventeen days after its first reading in the House of Commons.

Public opinion in England, while recognizing the necessity of Parliamentary action against the Bostonians, placed its protest in the press against the summariness of not allowing Boston to be heard in its own defense. The idea that the Ministry were actuated by motives of revenge rather than justice rapidly became widespread, and the Bill became a target at which the scribblers hurled their shafts of wit and satire, the following examples of which found their way into print almost immediately after the Bill had received the Royal assent.

From the *London Chronicle*, April 5th–7th, 1774.

“A correspondent has sent a dialogue, to which he says he was an ear witness :

“*Dr. First.*—Pray how do you cure the toothache ?

“*Dr. Last.*—I always plucks 'em out. Are you a Doctor ?

“*Dr. First.*—Yes, a political Physician. I am a Member of Parliament, and of course, being

## THE BOSTON PORT BILL

one of the great Council of the Nation, have a right to give my opinion on all the diseases of the State.

“*Dr. Last.*—Indeed ! that’s pure. Pray Doctor, if twenty or thirty riotous lawless people in a town, consisting of between twenty and thirty thousand inhabitants, were to commit a trespass, what remedy would you prescribe ?

“*Dr. First.*—Oh, nothing more easily done. I would beat the town about their ears ; and with fire and sword I would exterminate the whole inhabitants from the face of the earth. *Delenda est Carthago.*

“*Dr. Last and Dr. First together.*—Nothing like a radical cure : no, nothing like a radical cure.”

From the *Kentish Gazette*, April 6th–9th, 1774:

## INTELLIGENCE

“ An ingenious writer in the dramatic walk, having begun a tragedy on the present debates with the Americans, which he intends to name ‘THE FALL OF BOSTON,’ has given us permission to lay the following speech before the public, as a specimen of the work.

ACT I. *Scene the last.*

(*Lord NORTH solus.*)

WHAT in this piping time of peace, when ev’ry Wind conspired to swell my sails to glory,

INDIGNATION AT THE PUNISHMENT OF BOSTON

And guide my P—ce to *arbitrary rule* ;  
When *haughty Spain's* revengeful ire I sooth'd  
And even *patriots* (once my greatest dread)  
Had partly bow'd their stubborn necks to kiss  
The *rod* and *place*, upraised to win them  
To their duty—to be thus crost and spurn'd  
By a *few vagrant outcasts from this isle*,  
O ! tis too much, come then, black vengeance  
With thy deadliest thought !—in either hand a  
torch

Such as of old great Erostratus  
Us'd, when he fair Dian's temple flam'd,  
And since they dare to urge their *freedom's*  
*strength*

'Gainst *my commands*, burn their detested town,  
*Their Temples, farms, their household Gods, and all*  
And when the whole in piles of ashes lie,  
Rise, *Massachuset*, from thy lowest bed,  
And in one surge sweep off the dam'd remains,  
That not a wreck be left for future time  
To mark the spot where BOSTON once had stood.

“In former cases, when a house has been pulled down, or a citizen's goods destroyed by riot, the American provincial Assemblies have been applied to, and have paid the damages. The assembly of Massachusetts-Bay would doubtless have paid for the tea, had it been required of them in the usual form. It is well

known that the Father of this City, and several other gentlemen, were willing to give security for the payment of the tea on these terms. But that would have been a trifling scheme, by which we could hardly expect the pleasure of making a single woman or child shed a tear ; whereas the present plan perfectly agrees with [the] government's ideas of governing a distant colony ; it affords the pleasing prospect of starving at least a thousand of them to death, and reducing half of the remainder to beggary ; to say nothing of the motion it must give to the wheels of trade on this side of the water."

The editorial was evidently written from London, for the reference to the "Father of the City," alludes to the offer made by Wilkes to go on a bond for the payment of the tea, provided the Boston Port Bill should not be passed.

Ten days later the same editor printed the following tribute to Lord North's motives in introducing this act of vengeance.

*On the Author of the Boston Port Bill.*

Fierce Nimrod first the bloody chace began,  
A mighty hunter and his prey was *man*  
Our blust'ring North boasts still a fiercer name ;  
He marks *a people* out as *Royal game*.

Letters defending the action of the Bostonians soon appeared, and advanced the argument that

the Colonials had merely acted in defense of their constitutional rights in preventing the landing of the tea. No more forcible arraignment of the injustice of the summary punishment accorded to Boston could have been drawn up, than a parallel, here reproduced, which appeared in the columns of the *London Chronicle* of April 9th—12th, 1774. This parallel compared Parliament's proceedings against Edinburgh thirty-seven years before, and its recent action against Boston, the charge in the former case being for the wanton murder by the citizens of Edinburgh of one John Porteous, the captain of the City Guard, who, after being condemned to death by due process of law

To the PRINTER.	
PROCEEDINGS AGAINST	
EDINBURGH	BOSTON
Began the 20th of February, 1737, and ended the 21st of June, having continued near four months.	Began the 14th, and ended the 31st of March, 1774, being in all seventeen days.
The Provost and Magistrates of Edinburgh, the Judges of Scotland, and many other witnesses examined at the bar.	Witnesses examined at the Privy Council, and their evidence suppressed.
Council and evidence for the Magistrates and city fully heard at the bar.	The Agent refused a hearing at the bar.
Two Members for Edinburgh, forty-five for Scotland in the Lower House, and sixteen in the Upper House.	Not one Member for Boston in either House, nor for all or any part of America, nor even a voice in electing one.
Charge, an overt act of rebellion, and an atrocious murder—proved on a full hearing, and by competent evidence.	Charge, a riot and trespass—no evidence, and no hearing.
Frequent conferences held between the two Houses to compare the evidence, &c.	Not one conference.
Punishment—A fine of 2000 <i>l</i> .	Punishment—The loss of their port, to the injury of the town, at the lowest and most favourable estimate of 300,000 <i>l</i> . the restoration of their port, and of the use of their property, left at the King's mercy, after they shall have paid for rotten tea the full price of that which is sound, and all damage, to the amount, we may presume, of 30,000 <i>l</i> .
For proof, see the Journals of the Lords and Commons in 1737, and the bill against Edinburgh.	Journals of the Lords and Commons 1774, and the Boston port bill.

for firing on a mob of infuriated citizens, had been reprieved by Queen Caroline, and while under the royal protection had been forcibly taken from his prison by the angry populace and hanged.

No bird of prey ever pursued its quarry more relentlessly than did the King and his Cabinet ill-fated Boston. Rendered desperate by the hostile criticism, which the Boston Port Bill provoked, and fully cognizant that the citizens of Boston would defy the mandate of Parliament and be supported in their opposition by public opinion in England, the maddened King and his Ministry, in the vain hope that their policy of intimidation would be successful, quickly caused to be introduced into the House of Commons other Bills which were aimed at the Province of Massachusetts-Bay as well as at unhappy Boston.

The first of these was entitled an "Act for the better regulating the government of Massachusetts-Bay," and was read for the first time in the House of Commons on the fifteenth of April. It provided for the altering of the ancient charter of the Province and the changing of its form of government.

The Ministry had long been jealous of the rights conveyed to the colonies by the charters, which had been granted at a time when "colonies were considered instruments of commerce

rather than objects of government." The opportunity afforded by the disorders in Boston was eagerly seized upon as an excuse for remodelling the government of the Province, for the temper of Parliament, as shown by the ease with which the Boston Port Bill was put through, was most hostile to that Colony.

The object of the Bill was to take the government out of the hands of the people. The changes called for the appointment of the Council by the King, instead of their election by the General Court of the Province as heretofore, their tenure of office to be subject only to the King's pleasure. The Governor was empowered to appoint, and with consent of his Council remove, all the Judges of the Inferior Courts, the Attorney General, Provost Marshal, Justices and other officers of the Council or Courts of Justice, and the Sheriffs, also to fill vacancies which might arise in the offices of Chief Justice, and Judges of the Superior Court. Town meetings without the written permission of the Governor were prohibited, except for the purpose of local elections.

The juries and grand juries, which had hitherto been elected by the freeholders of the towns, were henceforth to be summoned and returned by the Sheriff. In short the whole machinery of the Courts was to be in the hands of the royal appointees. The opposition to this

measure in Parliament was fierce, though futile, and the proposed act of changing the government of a people without their consent was popularly characterized as "the highest and most arbitrary act of sovereignty that one nation can exercise over another, for charters are sacred and only revocable by due process of law for proven misconduct."

To enforce the two previous Acts another measure was passed, entitled "An Act for the impartial administration of Justice in the case of persons questioned for any acts done by them in execution of the law or for the suppression of riots in the province of Massachusetts-Bay." It provided that the Governor of Massachusetts-Bay should be empowered to remove to England the trial of any person indicted for murder or any capital offense committed in assisting the Magistrates in executing the laws of the province. The Governor was also empowered to compel the attendance at the trial of any witnesses deemed necessary to the prosecution or defense.

The evident purpose of this Act was to stiffen the courage of those entrusted to carry out the King's commands in Massachusetts-Bay. Its effect was to demonstrate that in the wreaking of ministerial vengeance upon Boston all ideas of justice and right had been laid aside.



Determined that the new policy against Boston should not fail from lack of sufficient armed support to the new magistrates, a Bill was rushed through Parliament, which decreed that the barracks which were provided for the soldiers at the expense of the Colonies, and which, for the sake of good order, were in many cases erected outside the limits of the towns, "might be disused at the commanding officer's pleasure and the troops quartered in the heart of the town, in public houses, and houses uninhabited and even in private families, it is presumed, if the necessity of the case is thought to require it."

To many the very existence of constitutional government in England seemed endangered by a policy which denied the protection accorded by charters, constitutions and even common law to the people of Massachusetts-Bay. The feeling sprang up that the liberties of Englishmen at home must eventually become endangered, if the Ministry were successful in destroying the constitutions and rights of the colonists.

"Nothing," wrote the editor of the *Kentish Gazette*, on June 11th, "can be more truly Machiavellian in our Ministry than their first endeavouring to sap the liberties of our settlements abroad. Every act, however injurious to freedom, loses its horror by repetition. Thus by progressive steps, and the pleading of precedents,

we may expect shortly to see all of our most valuable privileges taken away from us, without so much as feeling their loss, till their restoration is irremediable."

In the meantime a determined effort had been made in Parliament to secure the repeal of the tea duty with its obnoxious preamble, for it was believed by many that in this way alone could America be conciliated and the threatened crisis averted. Though strenuously advocated by the minority in Parliament, this measure failed in the Commons by a vote of nearly four to one.

Not satisfied with the passage of the four measures framed against Boston and Massachusetts-Bay, the Ministry, with a view of preventing the extension of colonial government safeguarded by charter rights, and in disregard of the claims of Massachusetts-Bay, Connecticut, New York and Virginia, passed a bill extending the boundaries of the Province of Quebec over all the territory now occupied by the states of Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, Illinois and Wisconsin. The Bill placed the government of all this vast territory in the hands of a Governor and Council appointed by the Crown, and sanctioned "the free exercise of the religion of the Church of Rome and confirmed to its clergy their accustomed dues and rights." It virtually did away with the jury system, and left the people,

who were to colonize this vast territory, without the protection of the writ of *habeas corpus* and without any share in its government.

The effect of this measure was to strengthen greatly the conviction in England that the Jacobite influences were still at work in the Cabinet. To the influence of the Pope and Lord Bute was ascribed the provision sanctioning and legalizing the use of the Roman Catholic religion in America, a privilege which had long been denied the people of Ireland. Many of those whose loyalty to the King and mistaken idea of the royal prerogative, had hitherto countenanced the measures passed to uphold the supremacy of Parliament in America, were shocked at this new step. The press was very bitter in its comments. The satirists found it a new field for their attacks. No expression of opinion could be more forcible or caustic than the following comments on the passage of the Bill which appeared in the *Kentish Gazette* of June 22nd-25th, 1774, the first of which was inspired by the knowledge of the fact that, when speaking in opposition to the Bill, "Lord Camden on reaching the religious part of the bill directed his discourse to the Bench of B——, telling them that, as by the Bill the Catholic religion was made the established religion of that vast continent, it was impossible that they could be

silent on the occasion. He called the bill a child of inordinate power, and desired and asked if any of that bench would hold it out for baptism."

EPIGRAM

"(To) *the unanimous vote of the Right Reverend the Bench of Bishops to the Quebec Bill, which yesterday received the Royal Assent.*

Old Nick, highly pleased at what *yesterday past*,  
With rapture exclaim'd, 'We have got it at  
last ;

What MARY, nor CHARLES, nor JAMES cou'd  
atchieve,

We have *partly* obtained by the *crozier and*  
*sleeve* ;

But let us be grateful—

(then calling an imp)

Do you hear my young Tycho ! when next I  
want drink' ;

Instead of that *liquid of brimstone* you dish up,  
Pray let me be serv'd, every day with a *Bishop*.

LONDON

"As soon as the division was over, on Friday, in the House of Lords, a member of the minority asked Lord Chatham, whether it would not be right to *protest* ? 'No, no, (replied his Lordship) there can be little use in a *few names* protesting against *this bill* ; the insult it offers to

people at large as PROTESTANTS and BRITONS will hold it in sufficient remembrance.' ”

Nothing can more vividly picture London's attitude towards this new attack upon the American Colonies than the description given by an English newspaper editor of the scene in the city on the day the royal Assent was given to the Quebec Bill. “The Park, Whitehall and other parts of Parliament-street,” he wrote, “were thronged with multitudes of people in dress and appearance much above the common level. As the King passed they gave him a most cordial salute of *groans* and *bisses*; the universal cry was ‘No Popery! No French laws! No Protestant Popish King! The Duke of Gloucester for ever!’ His Majesty was observed several times to change colour, but whether from a consciousness that he was suffering in a *religious* cause, or whether from the supreme delight he felt at passing an act so universally odious to the *factionous* citizens, he *bronzed* it out with a comfortable share of *firmness*. When he executed the *Romish business* by passing the Quebec Bill, the people on his return grew exceedingly clamorous; they groaned most hideously until the state-coach arrived opposite Mr. *Churchill's* house, in Parliament-street, when (Mr. *Wilkes* being at the window) a loud *buzza* ensued; the King bowed, but the people, too honest to deceive his Majesty, instantly shouted, ‘*Wilkes for ever!*’

The state-coach had no sooner entered the Park, than the multitude who had accompanied it to the Parliament-House, being joined by a prodigious concourse of people, the hiss, groans and cry of 'No Popery! No French laws! The Protestant Duke of Gloucester!' became incessant. The King once leaning his head toward the coach window, which was beset with numbers, a fellow, with great jocularly, called out 'God bless your Majesty's head, but damn Lord Bute's.' His Majesty reddened, but soon collecting his *firmness*, shewed as much contempt for the rabble as James II when he took water to escape their fury. . . . A fellow returning through the Park with the sword of state on his shoulder, the case which contained it being exactly like a *crucifix*, some of the mob insisted upon seeing the contents; the fellow stopped, and opened the case, but when they perceived it contained only a very harmless sword, they went away saying 'they really thought it was a present from the Court of Rome of a *Popish Crucifix*, for the use of the *Protestant King of England*.' "

Letters from America soon appeared in the press and told of the instantaneous determination of many of the Colonies to revive the Non-Importation Agreements, which had proved in the past such formidable weapons of retaliation against the attacks upon their liberties. These

also dwelt strongly upon the indignation aroused in the other Colonies, their sympathy for Boston and their promised assistance in her time of distress. The calmness of the Bostonians, when they received the news of the vengeful legislation aimed against them, and their firm determination to suffer the penalty imposed, rather than pay for the tea, was considered to redound greatly to their credit.

The new and offensive measures were denounced as being the handiwork of a Junto in the Ministry. Fierce denunciation of the latter filled the press, for such was the loyalty and love for the King in both England and America, that he was absolved from all participation in the attacks upon his American subjects.

Warnings by innuendo that the King was being deceived as to the measures the Ministry were favouring were not infrequent. That the course he was pursuing was most distasteful to a certain element may be gathered from the following which appeared in the *London Chronicle* on June 30th, 1774, shortly after the passage of the Boston and Massachusetts Acts.

#### To the PRINTER

*How Some Princes are deceived; a true picture.*

“FOUR or five men usually form themselves into a cabal, and conspire together to deceive

## THE BOSTON PORT BILL

and betray their Royal Master. This knot of knaves prescribe what *he* is to think, and *put into his mouth the very words he is instructed to utter*. They *shut him up*, and as it were *imprison him in his own Palace*, so that truth shall never be able to come near him. He is permitted to *know nothing* but what they or their *spies planted about him* think fit to tell him. By their intrigues and influence he prefers the most *undeserving* men to the *first dignities and posts* in the empire; and to make way for them *disgraces and dispossesses the most worthy* of his subjects, and the most devoted to *his and the nation's* interest."

A Ballad entitled "The Boston Bill," which appeared in the *London Chronicle* of July 23d-25th, 1774, and is here reprinted, well illustrates the unwillingness to associate the King with the odium attached to the Boston measures.

It also described the vehemence with which the Bill was pushed by the administration, the futile opposition of America's friends in Parliament, and the unseemly haste and vindictiveness displayed by Lord Mansfield (William Murray) in his demand for speedy legislation.

## THE BOSTON BILL

### A BALLAD

If at a time to turn a rhyme,  
I have a particle of skill,



My muse wou'd for her subject chuse,  
That wond'rous act the Boston Bill.

The steady North stept boldly forth,  
Each clause was fram'd his mouth to fill,  
Resolved to make th' Atlantic quake,  
He carried thro' the Boston Bill.

The blade of Burke and Dempster's dirke,  
From Irish bog and Scottish hill;  
Were brandish'd bright, in the Court's sight,  
In vain against the Boston Bill.

Not Isaac Barré cou'd make it tarry,  
It rapid ran like wheel of mill;  
Old Abram's self, had seem'd an elf,  
Had he oppos'd the Boston Bill.

To th' Upper House it went up souse,  
Of no effect was Chatham's will,  
His quiv'ring crutch, could hardly touch,  
The borders of the Boston Bill.

Not Leinster's fire, nor Camden's ire,  
The Mother Country's rage could still;  
She stopt each ear, and wou'd not hear,  
One word against the Boston Bill.

But tell us, Murray, why such hurry,  
Thus with Cane Wood those men to drill;  
Whom if left free, we soon shou'd see,  
Do well without a Boston Bill.

## THE BOSTON PORT BILL

Come let us sing long live our King,  
For we are sure *he* means no ill,  
And hope the best for the opprest  
By the unhappy Boston Bill.

In August, the Bill of Rights Society recommended to the electors of England a platform on which candidates for the coming Parliament must swear to stand, provided they desired the support of this powerful element in English politics. Among other stipulations made therein was the following :

“11th. You shall endeavour to restore to America the essential right of taxation by Representatives of their own free election ; repealing the acts passed in violation of that right since the year 1763 ; and the universal excise, so notoriously incompatible with every principle of British liberty, which has been lately substituted in the colonies, instead of the laws of customs.”

Discussion of the American question predominated throughout England in the autumn of 1774. The platform adopted by the Freeholders of Middlesex County in September, 1774, and upon which Wilkes was returned unopposed to Parliament as member from Middlesex for the fifth time, called for the repeal of the American legislation, as may be seen from

the perusal of the following extract from the *London Chronicle* of September 27th–29th, 1774:

“The following is a copy of the engagement signed by John Wilkes and John Glynn, Esqrs.

“We [*John Wilkes* and *John Glynn*] do solemnly promise and engage ourselves to our constituents, if we have the honour of being chosen the Representatives in Parliament of the county of Middlesex, that we will endeavour to the utmost of our power to restore and defend the excellent form of government modelled and established at the Revolution, and to promote acts of the Legislature, for shortening the duration of Parliaments, for excluding Placemen and Pensioners from the House of Commons, for a more fair and equal representation of the people, for vindicating the injured rights of the Freeholders of this county, and the whole body of electors of this united kingdom, and an act for the repeal of the four late acts respecting America, the Quebec act, establishing Popery and the system of French Canadian laws in that extensive province, the Boston port act, the act for altering the charter of the province of Massachusetts-Bay, and the act for the trial in Europe of persons accused of criminal offences in America, being fully persuaded that the passing of such acts will be of the utmost importance for the security of our excellent constitution, and the

restoration of the rights and liberties of our fellow subjects in America.

JOHN WILKES, JOHN GLYNN."

Thoughtful England felt that a crisis was fast approaching. Letters from America, many of which were handed over to the press for publication by their recipients, told of the approaching Congress of the Colonies and of the unanimity with which Boston was being supported.

Warnings that the Ministry had gone too far in its punishment of Boston took varied forms. Of these none was more powerful than the cartoon\* entitled "A POLITICAL LESSON," reproduced upon the opposite page. From the inscription upon its margin we learn that it was *Printed for John Bowles at No. 13 in Cornhill (London), invenit et fecit by J. Dixon and Published 7 Sep<sup>r</sup>. 1774, at the price 1<sup>s</sup> 6<sup>d</sup>.* The scene of the disaster which it pictures is clearly and unmistakably defined by the shattered milestone marked "To Boston VI Miles" and guidepost labelled "To SALEM," as being on the boundary line between the two places. The terrific fall received by the royal Governor, General

---

\* The artist and engraver who thus so ingeniously and so truly predicted the doom of England's domination over America was one of England's foremost mezzotint engravers of portraits. In the standard work, "British Mezzotint Portraits, described by J. C. Smith," the author allots space to the description of thirty-eight of J. Dixon's works and characterizes them as "powerful, well drawn, and rich in line."



*J. P. D. 1800. 1800. 1800.*

*Published 7. Sept. 1870.*

# *A POLITICAL LESSON.*

*1870.*

*Printed at John Banters, at No. 23 in Cornhill.*



Gage, indicated the artist's conception of the overthrow of royal authority in America, which he believed would follow the removal of the Government of Massachusetts-Bay "from their ancient and legal seat in Boston to the Court House in Salem."

The news of the passage of the Act, which would close its port, reached Boston on the tenth of May and was immediately printed upon paper with a black border and cried about the streets under the name of "a barbarous cruel bloody and inhuman murder." The counsel of the surrounding towns was immediately sought, and on the twelfth of May delegates from nine towns met at Faneuil Hall and denounced the action of Parliament and promised assistance to Boston in her hour of trouble. Letters were authorized to be sent to the other colonies proposing a cessation of trade with Great Britain, as it was believed that only by united action could Boston secure justice. The next day a numerously attended town meeting was held, the Boston Bill denounced, promises of assistance were given to all citizens who should be in need through lack of their accustomed employment, and an appeal was made "to all the sister colonies inviting a universal suspension of exports and imports, promising to suffer for America with a becoming fortitude, confessing that singly

they might find their trial too severe and entreating not to be left to struggle alone, when the very being of every colony, considered as a free people depended upon the event."

On the same day the new Governor and Captain-General of the Province, General Gage, sailed into the harbour and, after remaining four days at the Castle with Governor Hutchinson, entered the town. Shortly after his arrival an attempt was made at a town meeting to secure the passage of a resolution authorizing that payment for the tea be made, but the vote of disapproval was almost unanimous. Encouraged by promises of assistance from the towns of the neighbouring Provinces, Boston cheerfully resolved to suffer in behalf of the rights of all the Colonies. The new Governor, who had come to conciliate, only increased the feeling against the Ministry by refusing to concur in the election of the new Council.

Tidings of the proposed punishment of Boston travelled rapidly through the Colonies. Public meetings were held at which the Ministry was denounced and Boston upheld in the stand she was taking, for it was universally recognized that, if the tea be paid for and assurance be given by the Bostonians that the duties hereafter could be peacefully collected, the King would thus establish a precedent for forcing the



obnoxious tea upon America. Lengthy accounts of the action of the people in all sections of the Colonies soon appeared in the press of both countries, and not only cheered the distressed Bostonians, but also informed all England that America looked upon the attack upon Boston as being one in which the future of the liberty of America was involved. Of all the stories of these proceedings which reached England, possibly none was more impressive than the appended concise statement of the happenings in the little village of Farmington on that twenty-third day of May, for the height of the Liberty Pole therein mentioned, again vividly associated the struggles which the people of England were making for the retention of their own constitution under the leadership of Wilkes, with the stand being taken by the Americans in behalf of privileges granted under the ancient charters of the Colonies, then being jeopardized by the recent American legislation.

## AMERICA

*“Farmington, in Connecticut, May 23.* Early in the morning of the 19th instant, was found the following hand-bill, posted up in various parts of the town, viz.

“‘To pass through the fire at six o’clock this evening, in honour to the immortal Goddess of Liberty, the late infamous act of the

B——sh Parliament, for further distressing the American Colonies: The place of execution will be the public parade, where all Sons of Liberty are desired to attend.'

"Accordingly, a body were assembled, of near one thousand people, when a huge pole, just 45 feet high, was erected, and consecrated to the Shrine of Liberty: after which the Act of P——t for blocking up Boston harbour was read aloud, sentenced to the flames, and executed by the hands of the common hangman: After which several resolves were passed, *Nem. con.* expressing dislike to the said Act."

On the first of June the Act went into effect. Industry stopped in Boston, and compulsory idleness with its attendant suffering threatened its inhabitants. The next day news came of the passage of the Acts, which took away the charter of their Province and provided for trial in England "of any who under the pretext of supporting or carrying into execution the late acts of Parliament shall murder or destroy the people of this country."

Almost immediately the Town Committee forwarded a circular letter to all sections of the Province which called attention to "the present distressed condition of this insulted province" and invited signatures to a "solemn covenant" which was inclosed, and which would bind its

signers to refrain from any commercial intercourse with England or purchase any of its products after the first of the following August, and declaring that in this way alone the "horrors of slavery or the carnage of a civil war might be averted."

Starvation soon began to stare thousands in Boston in the face, for there were few whose means of earning their daily bread was not affected. The shipyards and all the various trades dependent upon this industry were idle, for no vessel could leave the stocks or wharfs; building ceased, for timber and bricks could not be brought into the harbour; the distillers and sugar boilers no longer could receive their molasses and sugar from the West Indies; the truckmen and day labourers were idle, for trade had vanished; the small tradesmen could neither obtain supplies or sell what they had in stock, for their patrons had nothing with which to pay them. Many who were dependent upon their rent roll soon found themselves destitute. Fuel and provisions advanced in price, for the vessels conveying them were obliged to unload their cargoes at the few wharfs of Marblehead and then reload, thereby increasing the cost of all the necessaries of life. Whatever merchandise came to Boston had to be conveyed by land from Salem over twenty-eight miles of rough roads.

Gifts soon began to pour in from all parts of the country. The first of these noted in the English press were "two hundred and seven quintals of codfish" purchased by a subscription raised at Marblehead; South Carolina sent its cargoes of rice, Virginia and Quebec their wheat; flocks of sheep and droves of cattle were driven to Boston from the New England Colonies. Scarcely a town or a hamlet on the continent failed to contribute liberally to alleviate the distress of Boston.

The West Indies sent their honorariums and the London press, by the following notice informed its readers that even in England the question of sending assistance to Boston was being agitated: "We hear that a subscription is soon to be opened, under very respectable patronage, for the inhabitants of Boston who are truly suffering all the rigours of a siege, in opposition to arbitrary power."

A committee was appointed to receive the donations and make the best possible distribution of the same, and met daily at Faneuil Hall to investigate the application of all those "suffering by the Boston Bill." The labourers were set to work on paving the streets, which fact caused the following ebullition in the *Virginia Gazette* of September 15th, 1774:

"By some gentlemen arrived from Boston

we are told that at a meeting last week, at Faneuil Hall, concerning the money, arising from the cargo of rice from South Carolina, three methods were proposed for applying it, the building a wharf, the construction of a vessel, and the paving the streets; when, after some debates, the last was adopted; and accordingly a large number of the poor people of the town were immediately employed upon that business.

“On the poor of Boston being employed in paving the streets.

In spite of rice, in spite of wheat,  
Sent for the Boston poor to eat,  
In spite of brandy, one would think,  
Sent for the Boston poor to drink;  
Poor are the Boston poor indeed,  
And needy, though there is no need:  
They cry for bread; the mighty ones,  
Instead of bread, give only stones.”

By a judicious use of the funds which poured into Boston from all quarters a brick yard was started, vessels set up in the stocks, and wool, flax and cotton bought and distributed to spinners, leather was supplied to shoemakers, the manufactured product being taken in pay for the raw material and distributed to the needy; nail-rods were also purchased for the blacksmiths and hemp for the rope-makers. Every effort was

thus made to enable all who were suffering from the Port Bill to make a subsistence.

In England the news of the determined way in which the people of Boston met their hardships and of the generous aid extended to them in their peril caused the conviction to be widespread that America had decided to take up the gauntlet flung down by the Ministry. The feeling was daily strengthening that, only through America's successful opposition to the Ministry, could Englishmen preserve their own constitution, which opinion was well expressed by a contributor to the *Middlesex Journal* of August 9th—11th, 1774, in the verses here quoted :

Alarmed, with manly care, behold,  
The Colonies consistent bold,  
For Boston's fate, their own  
At distant periods have to fear,  
Their liberties, and all things dear,  
Of power such seeds are sown.

A British senate, prone to gain ;  
Nobility, a vicious train,  
With luxury in bloom.  
Disgrace the annals of the brave,  
Commend the baseness of the slave,  
As wretches fit for Rome.

Let N— and M— proudly brave us,  
America, we trust, will save us,

INDIGNATION AT THE PUNISHMENT OF BOSTON

Since all our tears are vain.  
We all revere old Runny Mead,  
True valour must with tyrants plead,  
And liberty regain. T. L.

The feeling had become prevalent also that, owing to its severe treatment of Boston, the Ministry had overreached itself. This was well voiced by the following stanzas which appeared on September 20th, 1774, over the same signature, in the journal last quoted :

Who has not seen a musket ramm'd  
With too much powder often cram'd,  
Then burst, alas! asunder.  
By which great mischief has been done,  
By such an overloaded gun,  
That roar'd as loud as thunder.

Sad acts oppressive have been made,  
One tax, and then another, laid,  
Such token full of power.  
Are like the overloaded gun,  
By their own force themselves undone,  
At Boston wait the hour.

In the meantime the Governor, and the Assembly, which had been prorogued at Boston, to meet at Salem, June 7th, were at odds and the Assembly was dissolved, not, however, before it had appointed delegates to attend the Congress

of the Colonies which was called to meet at Philadelphia in September. The town meetings which were expressly forbidden to be called after the first of August under the new Acts, were still held throughout the Province, and when the Governor protested, he was informed that the only meetings held were those which had been adjourned from those regularly called before the Act went into effect. Many of the members of the Council appointed by the Governor were obliged to resign. The new judges dared not officiate. The new juries refused to be sworn.

Of all the numerous letters from Boston which appeared in the English press none gave a more complete and graphic account of the indignities put upon her people than the following:

*“Boston, October 17th.* Upwards of five months have expired since this devoted town has experienced all the horrors of the Port-Bill; and as if these were not sufficient to satiate the malice of our enemies, severities which that act, vengeful as it is, did not know of, have been grafted upon it. Many instances might be mentioned; suffice it to say, that a scow with boards and old iron have been seized in a mill pond, and libelled in an admiralty Court; a boat owned by one Stewart, with sand for our floors, has been taken in our harbour, and the sand thrown into the sea without the form of a trial; as was a lighter

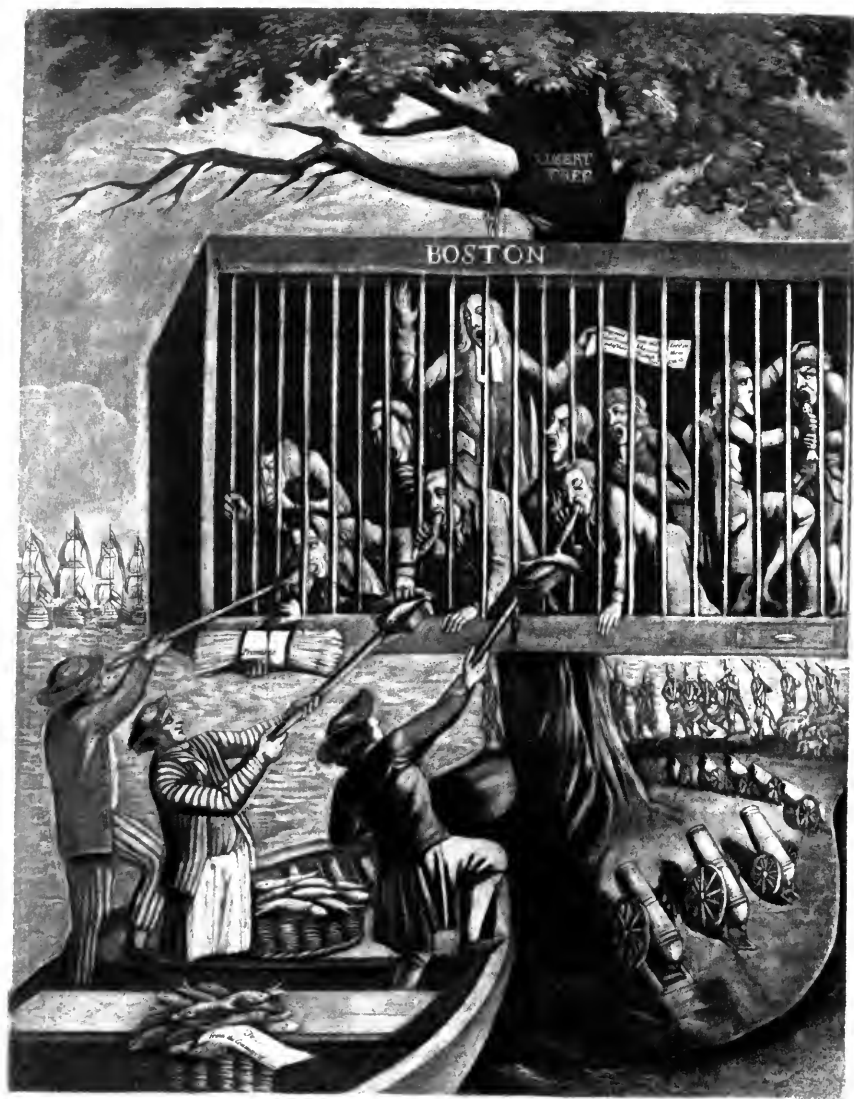


load of hay coming up from Braintree ; the produce of the islands near the town have not been suffered to be taken off ; and a float carrying sheep to feed on one of those islands, has been obliged to carry them back again ; bread, meal and other provisions were not suffered to pass a little ferry to Charlestown, and their ferry boats have been taken and detained for daring to attempt a passage after nine o'clock at night ; our numerous poor are suffering by the rise of wood, butter, cheese and other provisions not permitted to be brought up as usual from the little rivers and bays in our harbour, and when our tyrants have been expostulated with for these illegal proceedings, they have insultingly replied that, agreeable to the act of Parliament, it was *to distress us* ; and this their intention has been so effectually accomplished that it may be affirmed without exaggeration, the loss this town has sustained within only one month of our blockade, exceed the whole amount of those generous donations received from our sympathizing friends through the Continent. Added to all this, our town is surrounded with ships of war ; and it is said the fleet at Newfoundland are to winter in this harbour, formidable fortifications are erected and others erecting at the only avenue to the town ; chains and chevaux de frise already provided to stop up the

entrances at pleasure ; four regiments encamped upon the Common, with a large train of artillery and mattrasses ; one regiment on Fort-hill, one on the new fortifications in the Neck, and another regiment at Castle Williams ; three companies just arrived in the Rose man of war from Newfoundland ; transports dispatched some time past to New York, for two regiments from thence and the Jersies, and to Quebec for two regiments from that quarter ; military stores and implements of all kinds are collecting in this town, which has now the appearance of a garrison. Reports are propagated here, and the English papers announce, that six more regiments are coming from Europe. What may be the intention of all this, and what ought to be the conduct of this and the other provinces upon so alarming an occasion, we shall not pretend to say. This capital is a spectacle to them and to the whole world, a striking example of what is to be expected from the uncontrollable power claimed by a British Parliament over these colonies that have not a single representative in it ; but under all these sufferings and terrors Boston has not renounced the great and common cause for which it suffers."

After the story told in previous pages of the indignation aroused in England by the passage of the Boston Acts and the knowledge and regret





THE BOSTONIANS IN DISTRESS

Plate II

London Printed for R. Sayer & J. Bennett, Map & Print-Sellers, A<sup>n</sup> 52 Fleet Street, as the, & sold by N. 1774

there displayed for the distress caused thereby, no further proof is needed that "Plate II" of the series issued by R. Sayer and J. Bennett *as the Act directs 19 Novr 1794*, entitled "The BOSTONIANS IN DISTRESS," and reproduced upon the opposite page, touched the hearts and appealed to the sympathy of many of the people of London. The scene portrayed needs little explanation. The cartoonist has pictured the Bostonians suspended from their LIBERTY TREE and imprisoned in an enormous cage. Here he again showed his thorough acquaintance with American customs, for he thus has given to the men of Boston the punishment meted out in America to slaves convicted of capital offences, who, thus imprisoned, were left to starve as a terrible example to their fellows in bondage. The parallel drawn was a forcible one, as during the long controversy which had taken place the Americans in their numerous petitions had repeatedly referred to the fact, that bereft of their rights, their condition would be that of slavery. At about the time this cartoon was issued, several of the English papers had published "An American Parody on the old song of 'Rule Britannia,'" the closing stanzas of which pathetically voiced the love and loyalty felt in America for Great Britain and their plea to be treated as subjects and not as slaves.

THE BOSTON PORT BILL

VI

With *Justice* and with *Wisdom* reign,  
We then with thee will firmly join,  
To make thee Mistress of the Main,  
“*And every shore it circles thine.*”  
*Rule Britannia, rule the waves,*  
*But never make your children slaves.*

VII

When *life* glides slowly through *thy* veins,  
We'll then our filial fondness prove,  
*Bound only* by the welcome chains  
Of *duty, gratitude,* and love.  
*Rule Britannia, rule the waves,*  
*But never make your children slaves.*

VIII

Our *youth* shall prop thy tott'ring age;  
Our *vigour* nerve thy feeble arm:  
In vain thy foes shall spend their rage,—  
We'll shield thee safe from ev'ry harm.  
*Rule Britannia, rule the waves,*  
*But never make your children slaves.*

IX

For thee we'll toil with cheerful heart,  
We'll labour—but *we will be free*—  
Our *growth* and *strength* to thee impart,  
And all our treasures bring to thee.  
*Rule Britannia, rule the waves,*  
*We're subjects—but we're not your slaves.*

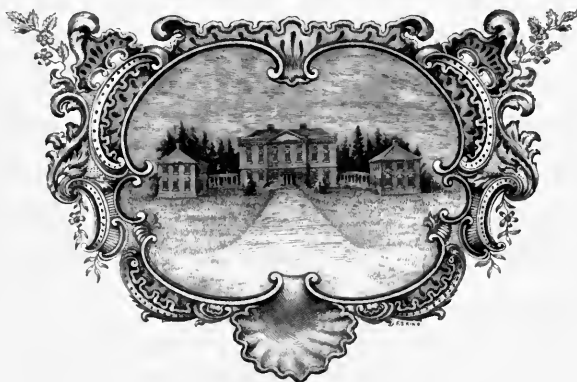
The cartoonist also emphasized Boston's cry for assistance, and the response it met, by his delineation of the scroll held aloft by one of the Boston Fathers, inscribed with a quotation from Psalm CVII, 13: "*They cried unto the Lord in their Trouble and he saved them out of their Distress.*" The answer to the prayer is graphically shown by the shallop laden with baskets of codfish labelled "*To— From the Committee of*"—, and was undoubtedly suggested by a knowledge of the gift of the men of Marblehead referred to on page 164. He has pictured the occupants of the boat as engaged in alleviating the hunger of the imprisoned Bostonians. Possibly the knowledge of the numerous sermons preached by the Boston clergy during the troubles in the Province, and quoted in the English press, suggested the religious aspect given to the scene by the long-handled contribution boxes, which served as a medium of conveyance of the food to its emaciated recipients. The huge parcel of papers labelled "*Promises*" vividly calls to mind the "covenants" referred to on page 160. In the distance may be seen the "four or five frigates" which Lord North had predicted would be sufficient to enforce the Act.

The cannon with muzzles pointed toward the "Liberty Tree" represent the "eight pieces of ordnance" which letters from Boston had de-

## THE BOSTON PORT BILL

scribed as being parked upon the Common. In the background may be seen the troops "with fife and drum," which were being landed at intervals to strengthen the royal forces in Boston.

Few cartoons have ever more completely and more forcibly pointed a moral than the one which forms the subject of this chapter. The vivid picture it gave to sympathetic England of the Bostonians in distress for defending the freedom accorded them by their charter, their cry for assistance and the moral and material response thereto, met with a demand which required that the plate be kept in use until the badly worn copper almost refused to hold its ink, which fact is proven by one of the copies extant to-day.





IV

LONDON'S KNOWLEDGE OF  
THE ACTIVITIES OF THE SONS OF  
LIBERTY IN NEW YORK

---





#### IV

### LONDON'S KNOWLEDGE OF THE ACTIVITIES OF THE SONS OF LIBERTY IN NEW YORK



It was the substantial response to the cry of distressed Boston for assistance, which furnished no small portion of the moral lesson told by the cartoon which formed the subject of the previous chapter. Plate III of the series however found its subject in a droll incident which occurred in the town of New York in the autumn of

1774, the knowledge of which was spread abroad in the shape of a vote of thanks passed by the Sons of Liberty of that place (see page 214). This incident was utilized to call attention, in a humorous manner, to the determination known to exist in America to refrain from contributing to the comfort of those who wore the King's uniform, until the suffering Bostonians were restored to their "ancient privileges" and the grievances of America redressed.

The fact that a naval captain figured in the incident may have added to its interest, for the print was put upon the London market at the time when the press of that city was chronicling the wholesale desertions from the English regiments stationed in the Colonies, the requests of the officers for transfer from the regiments ordered on American service, and the protest of the veterans of the late war against being obliged to help enslave their former comrades of many a campaign.

The appended verses from the *London Evening Post* of March 11th-14th, 1775, are an exemplification of the feeling of the time:

"*To the Printer of the London Evening Post.*  
"SIR,

"If you think it consistent with your Safety to publish the following Song, the Admission

THE SONS OF LIBERTY IN NEW YORK

of it into your Paper will oblige one who is a true Friend of the Public, as well as your constant reader, sincere Friend, and humble Servant,  
NAUTICUS."

THE SAILOR'S ADDRESS

I

COME listen, my cocks, to a brother and friend,  
One and all to my song, gallant sailors attend,  
Sons of Freedom ourselves, let's be just as we're  
brave,

Nor America's freedom attempt to enslave.  
Firm as oak are our hearts, where true glory  
depends,

Steady, boys, steady,

We'll always be ready

To fight all our foes, not to murder our friends.

II

True glory can ne'er in this quarrel be won,  
If New-England we conquer, Old England's  
undone;

On brethren we then should assist to fix chains,  
For the blood of Great Britain flows warm in  
their veins.

Firm as oak, &c.

III

Shall Courtiers' fine speeches prevail to divide  
Our affection from those who have fought by  
our side?

#### THE BOSTON PORT BILL

And who often have join'd us to sink in the  
main

The proud boasting navies of France and of  
Spain?

Firm as oak, &c.

#### IV

Near relations of some who at Court now do  
thrive,

The Pretender did join in the year forty-five;  
And many in favour, disguis'd with foul arts,  
While they roar out for George, are for James  
in their hearts.

Firm as oak, &c.

#### V

Of such men as these let us scorn to be tools,  
Dirty work to perform—do they take us for  
fools?

Brave sailors are wiser than thus to be bamm'd;  
Let them turn out themselves, lads, and fight  
and be d——'d.

Firm as oak, &c.

#### VI

To the ground may disputes with our Colonies  
fall,

And George long in splendour reign King over  
all;

And may those who would set the two lands by  
the ears,

Be put in the bilboes, and brought to the jeers.

THE SONS OF LIBERTY IN NEW YORK

Firm as oak are our hearts, where true glory  
depends,

Steady, boys, steady,

We'll always be ready

To fight all our foes, not to murder our friends.

While the episode pictured was in itself merely one of the bubbles upon the waters of unrest which had enveloped America, yet the lesson taught by the cartoon could equally well have been derived from numerous other tales which reached London and told of a similar attitude assumed towards those in the King's employ throughout the Colonies.

The details of the print not only prove its designer to have been familiar with the names of individual members of the Sons of Liberty in New York but also to have possessed a clear conception of the political situation existing in that town.

From the time of the Stamp Act days, political sentiment in New York had been affected by too much discord to admit of comprehensive treatment here. It is true that the Assembly of the Province had joined the other legislative bodies in their protest against the Stamp Act, and the Congress of the Colonies, called together to raise a united voice against the same measures met at her capital. The history of

the next nine years must, however, be dismissed with the mere statement that there had been no such unanimity of action among her people as had so long prevailed in Massachusetts-Bay and Virginia, for class distinctions, with their attendant jealousies, were more closely drawn in this Province than in the other Colonies. Very broadly speaking, her people may be said to have been divided in their politics along religious lines. One element composed largely of the members of the Church of England, who as a rule represented the wealth and refinement of the place, showed little inclination to assist in disturbing the existing order of affairs, though they deemed the legislation aimed against America unwise and unjust. The members of the other party, men largely of the Presbyterian faith who feared God but not their King, were disposed to enter the political arena, and take up the cudgels in behalf of what they considered not only their charter but their God-given rights.

The Sons of Liberty of the town of New York, made up largely of those who earned their bread by daily toil, were no less strenuous in the defence of their liberties than their brethren in other parts of the country. The Common, now the City Hall Park, was their public meeting ground. It was there that their Liberty Pole



was placed, around which their celebrations were held and their protests voiced. It was there also that their demonstrations against the royal authority were made, and the walls of St. Paul's Chapel—an engraving of which as it appeared in Colonial days heads this chapter—were silent spectators of scenes more stirring in their nature than were witnessed by any other building which has been preserved to us from that period.

The activities of these Sons of Liberty are too well known to need repetition here. To the shame of New York, it must be confessed that it was only through their efforts that the Non-Importation Agreement, which followed the "Acts of 1767," was more rigidly observed in that Province than in any other of the Colonies, for her merchants had no such enthusiasm for the curtailment of their income, as was displayed by those whom they generally characterized in letters to their correspondents abroad as the "Presbyterian junto." The method employed was as brutal as it was efficacious and was well described in the following letter which circulated in the English press during the latter part of the year 1769:

*"A Letter from an English Dealer in the Hardware Business in New-York, to a merchant in London."*

"On the arrival of your goods, which Mr.

Copestakes came with, I was sent for by the Committee ; on which I thought, as I had not signed their agreement, they could have nothing to do with me ; Three days after another ship arrived, in which I had a large quantity of fine cutlery and files ; upon this, they sent for me again, and I waited on them, and told them I had things in your box, which had been ordered a long while ago ; on that account they gave leave I should have that box, but my other goods they sent into the stores. I told them, if the Acts were not repealed in three months, I would have them out, and leave the place.

“ ‘ On the 14th of July the Ship Edward arrived in which I had only 31*l.* 4*s.* commission, and all in chapes and necessities for carrying on my business ; on the 17th I was ordered again to wait on the Committee ; I attended them directly, and declared I could not possibly carry on my business without chapes, and shewed them some pinchbeck buckles, out of which I had been obliged to take the chapes to put in silver ones. As they saw I was not willing to give up my goods to be stored, I was set upon by three of the Committee, who threatened me, and treated me in a most scurrilous manner. In consequence of my knowing they acted contrary to law, I told the above three persons that I did not value either, or all of them, and retired.

“ ‘ On the 20th day of July an advertisement was published by them against me : It contained such falsehoods as I could not have thought would have entered the heart of man. Disputes ran very high that evening ; and as I had some friends who took my part, they were afraid they should not succeed ; and therefore, to prejudice the people against me, caused several hundred hand-bills, to be put under every door in and about town, directing everybody to meet at the Liberty Pole, on the next evening, at six o'clock, and there to consult what death I should die.

“ ‘ Alarmed at this, by the advice of some friends, on Friday, I got several hundred hand-bills printed, and dispersed them, informing the publick, I would give up my goods to be stored, if the President of the Committee approved of this advertisement, and thought it would satisfy everybody. On Friday evening great numbers of the mob assembled at the appointed place, when the President went up to the Liberty Pole, and read one of them to the mob ; but the three persons beforementioned, said my advertisement was not sufficient, and nothing would do without I was brought up ; however, I was determined not to go. I had reason to apprehend the most alarming consequences. Several merchants were deputed from the Liberty Pole to bring me there ; I told them I was an Englishman,

and it should never be said I died like a dog ; and as I had nothing but death before my eyes, I was determined to die in my own house.

““ By this time a part of the mob came to my door, to fetch me by force. At this instant, Major Pulline of the 16th regiment, came to my house, and engaged to convey me to the fort in safety. We passed by about 400 of the mob, without any hurt ; but in my way to the fort I had a stone thrown at me, [which] weighed four pounds, and which hit me on my right shoulder, and contused it ; I was let blood, and it was followed with no bad symptoms.

““ On my arrival at the fort, the G—— seemed angry, and said, now I had given up my goods, I wanted his advice : I told him, I wanted him to protect my person only ; he left me in the hall, and I saw him no more. That night I slept in the fort ; next morning I told his secretary I should be glad to be admitted to speak to the G—— ; he acquainted him with it, and brought me word I must go to Mr. John Cruger’s, one of the Committee, at whose house I would be safe : I told him that I did not chuse to leave the fort, as my life was in imminent danger.

““ During this time, I had deputations from the Liberty Pole to come up and ask pardon of men that I never injured, or knew in my life ; and finding I had nothing to expect from the

G——, and considering the money I had owing me here, I thought it best to submit, and bow my neck to their Liberty Pole.

“‘About one o’clock, the G—— ordered me, by his Steward to leave the Fort, as I had not followed his advice in going to Mr. Cruger’s; though if I had attempted it, I believe I should have been murdered in the street. In this situation I was obliged to submit, after a five days stay in the Fort. They offered me any number of merchants to protect me if I chose it; I told them I would put my life in the hands of three or four, and with them went and asked pardon of the mobility, and was most ignominiously treated.

“‘Now it is resolved no one shall buy anything of me; and though this affair has raised me many friends, yet they dare not come into my shop, so I have nothing to expect here, and shall be a great loser by my goods, a large quantity of which are in stores, which if they lie long there, will spoil.

“‘I must not forget to tell you of the great humanity and tenderness of the Mayor and Alderman, when the mob came before my house; they stayed with my wife a long while, and exerted themselves to the utmost, but could do nothing with such a riotous multitude.’”

Pending the news of the arrival of the East

## THE BOSTON PORT BILL

India Company's tea ships in America, New York had figured even more prominently in the English newspapers than Boston, on account of the opposition agitated by her Sons of Liberty against the proposed unloading of the tea in their port. The determination of her people first publicly expressed itself in a meeting held on October 25th, 1773, at which the thanks of the people there assembled were tendered to the "Captains of the London ships belonging to this port for their refusal to take from the East India Company on freight, a quantity of tea, and thereby contributed so earnestly to discountenance a measure, which ought to be opposed by all good men as contrary to every principle of British liberty, and therefore cannot but incur the just indignation and resentment of the much injured Americans."

An interesting incident, which followed shortly afterward, was thus described in the following extract from a letter published in the *London Chronicle* of January 8th-11th, 1774, dated New York, November 15th :

"On Friday morning the 5th instant was distributed about the city a printed advertisement, directed to the Friends of Liberty and Commerce in New York, and signed as follows :

By order of the Legion's Committee,

CASSIUS."

“In this paper, Mr. K——,\* now in London, was charged with sundry speeches tending to encourage the sending to America tea, subject on its arrival to a duty imposed by the British Parliament, and that in order to get the Commission of the sale of the said teas, he had said, ‘There was no danger from the resentment of the Public in New York, if it should be as high as it was in the time of the Stamp act, for that now they had a different person to deal with, and the tea would be crammed down their throats.’

“That animated by these speeches, the East India Company had concluded to send their tea to America ; and that therefore Mr. K—— was an enemy to his country, and ought to be treated accordingly. The same evening an effigy, with his name inscribed in luminous letters, and suspended on a gallows, fixed in a cart, with a tea canister before him, inscribed tea, 3d. sterling duty, with several other inscriptions and devices, expressive of the people’s resentment, was drawn through the principal streets of this city, attended by a great multitude of spectators, and at last burnt before the door of the Coffee-house ; after

---

\* The personage in whose honour this affair took place was a Mr. Kelly, a former resident, who had taken up his home in England, and in his canvass for a seat in Parliament had attempted to curry favour with the Administration by making statements of a similar nature to those here quoted.

which the people gave three cheers and dispersed."

Reports quickly followed of the demand for resignation of the three tea consignees, of their ready compliance with the request, and that the Sons of Liberty had "threatened all the Pilots to bring them to the liberty tree if they conduct the ship up to the city," also that, not satisfied with these measures, the Mohawks, for the Sons of Liberty in New York had their band of aborigines at this period as well as Boston, proceeded to define in unmistakable terms their attitude towards the expected tea ship, and to warn all citizens against receiving the tea by placarding the city with the following notice :

"Whereas our nation have lately been informed, that the fetters which have been forged for us by Great Britain, are hourly expected to arrive in a certain ship belonging to, or chartered by, the East India Company. We do therefore declare, that we are determined not to be enslaved by any Power on earth ; and that whosoever shall aid or abet so infamous a design, or shall presume to let their store or stores for the reception of the infernal chains, may depend upon it, that we are prepared, and shall not fail to pay them an unwelcome visit, in which they shall be treated as they deserve ; by

"Nov. 29th, 1773. THE MOHAWKS."



Copies of the above broadside appeared in various English papers about the middle of January, 1774, shortly before the tidings had reached England that Boston's tribe of Indians had destroyed the cargoes of tea consigned to that ill-fated port.

Two weeks later came the account of a meeting held at New York on December 17th, as follows: "On Friday last, in pursuance of an advertisement distributed about this City the day before, addressed to 'The Members of the Association of the Sons of Liberty,' a respectable number of Citizens met at the City Hall, when Mr. John Lamb, a Member of the Association, addressed the meeting and informed them, that he was desired by a number of his Fellow Citizens to communicate to them, that there were several letters received from the Committee of Correspondence of the Town of Boston, and a letter from Philadelphia, relative to the importation of the East-India Company's Tea, which it was desired might be communicated. The letters were accordingly read; and a Committee of fifteen Gentlemen was chosen to answer these letters, and to correspond with our sister Colonies on the subject of the dutied Tea. The Association of the Sons of Liberty was then read; after which the Sons of Liberty came to several resolutions, of the same tendency with those of Philadelphia,

Boston, &c., not to suffer the introduction of Tea. Mr. Lamb put the question, Whether they agreed to the said resolution : It passed in the affirmative, *Nem. Con.*

“The Mayor and the Recorder came into the meeting, and informed them, that they had a message from Government to deliver to the People, and to take their sense upon it. Whereupon it was agreed, that the Mayor should deliver the message ; which he accordingly did in the words following :

“ ‘Gentlemen, I have a message from Government to deliver to you. The Governor declares, that the Tea will be put into the Fort at noon day ; and engages his honour that it shall continue there, till the Council shall advise it to be delivered out, or till the King’s order, or the Proprietor’s order, is known ; and then the tea will be delivered out at noon day. Gentlemen, is this satisfactory to you ? ’ This was answered with a general no, no, no.

“ Mr. Lamb then read to the people the act of Parliament that imposes the duty on tea imported into America, and after making some pertinent remarks on the Commons of Great Britain’s giving and granting the property of the Americans, and that the duty was due on the landing of the tea, put the following question :— ‘ Is it then your opinion, gentlemen, that the

tea should be landed under this circumstance? ' This was carried so generally in the negative, that there was no call for a division.

" Whereas this Body is informed, from unquestionable authority, and the letters that have now been read, that the patriotic inhabitants of the City of Philadelphia, and the Town of Boston, have determined that no tea, subject to a duty by a British Act of Parliament, for the purpose of raising a revenue in America, should be landed in either of those places.

" *Resolved, Nem. Con.* That this Body highly approves of that spirited and patriotic conduct of our brethren of the City of Philadelphia, and the Town of Boston, in support of the common liberties of America. Then the question was put, whether this meeting should be adjourned till the arrival of the tea ship, or be dissolved? It was carried, that the meeting should be adjourned till the arrival of the tea ship."

In the meantime other letters had appeared, written by "*Officers at New York* to Friends in London," describing the growing excitement in the town, the daily drilling of the Independent Companies, the target practice of the local artillery and noting "that the minds of the town people are inflamed by the examples of some of their principals: they swear that they will burn every ship that comes in." The same letters

told of the orders issued to the royal troops to prepare ball cartridges for use and to keep "good flints in their firelocks and for every officer and soldier, as soon as any riot is in town, to repair directly to the barracks and acquaint the commanding officer to it."

Then followed news that "it is determined on the arrival of the ship-Nancy, Capt. Lockyer, with the Tea from the East-India Company, the Commander will be acquainted with the sentiments of the inhabitants respecting the shipping that article, which will indubitably occasion his return with it in statu quo, to England, and that he will be provided with every necessary for his voyage; by which discreet intentions, every fatality both to this colony and the Honourable Company will be most happily prevented."

Almost six months—months full of excitement and feverish anxiety—had elapsed from the day when the people of New York first expressed their disapproval of the proposed tea shipments, before the tea ship Nancy hove in sight. Her captain's experience with the Sons of Liberty and the Nancy's peaceful departure with unbroken cargo, as well as New York's "tea party," were related in the following interesting article which appeared in the *London Chronicle* of June 4th-7th, 1774 :

*“New York, April 25th.* On Monday last [the 18th] advice was received from Philadelphia, that Captain Chambers of the London, of this port, had taken on board at the port of London, eighteen boxes of fine tea, which were regularly cleared, and the mark and numbers were taken from the cocket by Capt. All, of Philadelphia. As Capt. Chambers was one of the first who refused to take the India Company’s tea on freight the last Summer, for which he received the thanks of the Citizens, they could not believe that he knew of the teas being on board, and therefore supposed it to have been shipt by some ministerial tool, under another denomination, in order to injure the Owners, or the reputation of the Master, or to make an experiment of this mode of introducing the teas to America. The Committee and the Inhabitants were therefore determined to examine into the matter with great vigilance.

“In the night the long expected tea ship, Nancy, Capt. Lockyer, arrived at Sandy Hook, without her mizen mast and one of her anchors, which were lost in a gale of wind the 2d inst. when her main top mast was sprung and thrown on her beam ends. Letters being delivered to him by the Pilot from sundry Gentlemen of this city, informing him of the determined resolution of the citizens not to suffer the tea on board of

his ship to be landed, he requested the Pilot to bring him up to procure necessities and make a protest, but they would not do it till leave was obtained. Early the next morning this was communicated to the Committee, and it appearing to them to be the sense of the city that such leave should be granted to him, the ship to remain at the Hook, the Pilot was immediately dispatched to bring him up. This intelligence we immediately communicated to the Public by an hand bill.

“At 6 P. M. the pilot boat returned with Capt. Lockyer on board, and although the people had but a very short notice of it, the wharf was crowded with the Citizens, to see the man whose arrival they long and impatiently wished, to give them an opportunity to co-operate with the other Colonies. The Committee conducted him to the house of the Hon. Henry White, Esq; one of the Consignees, and there informed Capt. Lockyer that it was the sense of the Citizens that he should not presume to go near the Custom House, and to make the utmost dispatch in procuring the necessary articles he wanted for his voyage. To this he answered, ‘That as the Consignees would not receive his cargo, he would not go to the Custom-house, and would make all the dispatch he could to leave the city.’ A Committee of Observation was immediately appointed

to go down in a sloop to the Hook, to remain there near the tea ship till she departs for London.

“Wednesday night arrived Capt. Lawrence, from London, who confirmed the account received from Philadelphia, of Capt. Chambers having on board 18 boxes of fine tea, but could not tell who was the Shipper, or to whom it was addressed. Thursday the Committee interrogated Capt. Lawrence relative to what he knew of the tea’s being on board of Captain Chambers, when he shewed them a memorandum in his pocket book, which he took from the cocket in the middle of Capt. Chambers’s file of papers in the Searcher’s Office at Gravesend, corresponding with the advice transmitted from Philadelphia, except some variation in the mark. This morning the following hand bill was distributed :

“‘To the PUBLIC, The sense of the city relative to the landing the India Company’s tea, being signified to Capt. Lockyer, by the Committee, nevertheless, it is the desire of a number of the citizens, that at his departure from hence, he should see, with his own eyes, their detestation of the measures pursued by the Ministry and the India Company, to enslave this country. This will be declared by the convention of the people at his departure from this city; which

will be on next Saturday morning about nine o'clock, when no doubt, every friend of this country will attend. The bells will give the notice about an hour before he embarks from Murray's Wharf.

“‘New-York, April 21st.

“‘By Order of the Committee.’

“Friday at noon Capt. Chambers came into the Hook; the Pilot asked him if he had any tea on board. He declared he had none. Two of the Committee of Observation went on board of Capt. Chambers, and informed him of the advices received of his having tea on board, and demanded a sight of all his cockets, which was given them, but the cocket for tea was not found among them, nor was the mark or number on his manifest.

“About 4 P. M. the ship came to the wharf, when she was boarded by a number of the citizens, Capt. Chambers was interrogated relative to his having the tea on board, but he still denied it. He was then told it was vain to deny it, for there was good proof of its being on board; for it would be found, as there were Committees appointed to open every package, and that he had better be open and candid about it; and demanded the cocket for the tea; upon which he confessed it was on board, and delivered the cocket. The owners and the Commit-



tee immediately met at Mr. Francis's, where Capt. Chambers was ordered to attend. Upon examining him who was the shipper and owner of the tea, he declared that he was sole owner of it. After the most mature deliberation, it was determined to communicate the whole state of the matter to the people, who were convened near the ship; which was accordingly done.

"The Mohawks were prepared to do their duty at a proper hour, but the body of the people were so impatient, that before it arrived a number of them entered the ship, about 8 P. M. took out the tea which was at hand, broke the cases, and started their contents in the river, without doing any damage to the ship or cargo. Several persons of reputation were placed below to keep talley, and about the companion to prevent ill-disposed persons from going below the deck. At 10, the people all dispersed in good order, but in great wrath against the Captain; and it was not without some risque of his life that he escaped. Saturday at 8 A. M. all the bells of the City rang.

"About 9, the greatest number of people were collected at and near the Coffee House that was ever known in this city. At a quarter past 9 the Committee came out of the Coffee House with Capt. Lockyer, upon which the band of music attending, played 'God save the King.'

Immediately there was a call for Capt. Chambers, Where is he? where is he? Capt. Lockyer must not go till we find Capt. Chambers to send him with the tea ship. This produced marks of fear in Capt. Lockyer, who imagined some mischief was intended him; but upon assurance being given him to the contrary, he appeared composed. The Committee, with the music, conducted him through the multitude to the end of Murray's Wharf, where he was put on board the pilot boat, and wished a safe passage; upon which the multitude gave loud huzzas, and many guns were fired, expressive of their joy at his departure. The Committee of Observation at the Hook have cognizance of him till a fair wind offers for his departure from thence.

“On Sunday night, the Committee of Observation returned from the Hook. They inform us, that the sailors of the tea ship, being unwilling to proceed with her to London, made a raft of spars and boards, in order to quit the ship with the tide of flood, but were observed by the Captain, and being aided by the Committee, who offered their assistance to him, they desisted from their project.—That on Sunday at 10 A. M. the ship and the sloop, with the Committee, weighed their anchors and stood to sea; and at 2 P. M. the Pilot boat and the Committee's sloop left her at the distance of three leagues from the Hook.

“With Capt. Lockyer, in the ship Nancy, went passenger, Capt. James Chambers.”

The story told in the preceding pages explains the numerous protests uttered at home and abroad against the injustice of singling out Boston for punishment for her action in taking up the gauntlet deliberately thrown down by Governor Hutchinson. It also justified the popular belief, that if the desire evinced by Governor Tryon of New York and other royal Governors to avoid the issue, which the compulsory landing of the tea would have forced, had been displayed at Boston, the crisis would have been averted, and the necessity for the destruction of the valuable property of the East India Company obviated,—the consequences of which act were then threatening the existence of a people whom many in England looked upon as merely defending the principle expressed in the classic proverb, “Nothing is pleasant without true Liberty,” which headed the Poets Corner in the *Middlesex Journal* of August 30th—September 1st, 1774.

*Nil est jucundum invita sine Libertate*

When tyrants on the Continent were spread,  
Men, for Liberty, to the islands fled,  
The scene now changed; from those they  
daily fly  
To seek a Continental safer sky.

## THE BOSTON PORT BILL

America invites us to her arms,  
Freedom, all know, contains a thousand  
    charms,  
With them that noble spirit is not broke,  
Gage he may swagger, Bernard shape the yoke,  
Hutchinson to rage a nation great provoke,  
But when the contest comes, the mighty odds  
Appear with slaves contending with the Gods.

The reception which the news of the passage of the Boston Port Bill received in New York on the 12th of May, the meeting called to discuss it and "the printing off and distribution of 10,000 copies of the Act along with a copy of several letters from England," indicated New York's interest in the cause of Boston.

On the 16th of May, the merchants met for consultation and, in order to prevent any radical action being taken by the citizens in general, decided to present to the people at large the names of fifty persons to act as a Committee of Correspondence to represent New York in the emergency which confronted the Colonies. Three days later at a meeting of the people the list was formally approved, but only after bitter opposition from the Sons of Liberty, for the composition of the Committee indicated that conservatism would control its actions. At this gathering an additional name was added and the

appointees were thereafter known as the Committee of Fifty-one.

In the meantime Isaac Sears and Alexander McDougall, acting for the Sons of Liberty, had written their Boston brethren informing them of the proposed meeting and pledging it to agree upon "a Non-importation and Non-exportation of goods to Great Britain." In this they were in error, for the Committee, in drawing up a letter of sympathy for Boston, only suggested that this step should be discussed at a meeting of Deputies from all the Colonies, being mindful of the fact that New York's loyalty to the previous Non-Importation agreement had resulted in the diversion of much of her trade to other Colonies, where the agreement was but lightly observed.

The moderation of the Committee of Fifty-one was in no way satisfactory to those of its members who were appointed from the Sons of Liberty, and suspicion became rife as to the motives of their inaction. This was accentuated by the statements made by the English newspapers that General Gage had told Lord North that he "knew of many Persons of Consequence in New York who could easily be brought over to sell their Privileges for a Pension for the Crown."

Announcements that the Ministry would attempt to introduce into America the methods of

## THE BOSTON PORT BILL

bribery and corruption, which were known to be sapping the life blood of constitutional government at home, frequently appeared in the London press during the next twelve months and furnished the satirists fresh ammunition to hurl at the Administration. By no means the least interesting of these effusions was that which was presented to the public by the *London Evening Post* under the heading of,

### A SONG

*By the* TORY MINISTRY

*To the tune of abegging we will go, will go, &c.*

#### I

'Tis money makes the Member vote,  
And sanctify our ways;  
It makes the Patriot turn his coat,  
And money we must raise.  
And a taxing we will go, will go, &c.

#### II

More taxes we must sure impose,  
To raise the Civil List;  
Also to pay our ayes and noes,  
And make opposers wist.  
And a taxing, &c.

#### III

One single thing untax'd at home,  
Old England could not shew;

THE SONS OF LIBERTY IN NEW YORK

For money we abroad did roam,  
And thought to tax the New.  
And a taxing, &c.

IV

The pow'r supreme of Parliament,  
Our purpose did assist,  
And taxing laws abroad were sent,  
Which rebels do resist.  
And a taxing, &c.

V

Shall we not make the rascals bend  
To Britain's supreme power?  
The sword shall we not to them send  
And leaden balls a shower?  
And a taxing, &c.

VI

Boston we shall in ashes lay,  
It is a nest a knaves;  
We'll make them soon for mercy pray,  
Or send them to their graves.  
And a taxing, &c.

VII

But second thoughts are ever best,  
And lest our force should fail,  
What fraud can do we'll make a test,  
And see what bribes avail.  
And a taxing, &c.

VIII

Each Colony, we will propose,  
Shall raise an ample sum;

## THE BOSTON PORT BILL

Which well applied, under the rose,  
May bribe them—as at home.  
And a taxing, &c.

### IX

We'll force and fraud in one unite,  
To bring them to our hands;  
Then lay a tax on the sun's light,  
And King's tax on their lands.  
And a taxing, &c.

On July 5th an advertisement appeared in the streets of New York couched in "mystic and ambiguous terms." It called for a meeting the next day in the Fields, and assigned as the reason that "The enemies of the Liberty of America being unwearied in misrepresenting the attachment of the inhabitants of this city to the common cause of this country to the neighbouring colonies, etc."

The response thereto was a numerous gathering of New York's citizens. Its chairman was Alexander McDougall, one of the Committee of Fifty-one, who after calling attention to "the dangerous tendency of the numerous and vile acts used by the enemies of America to divide and distract her councils, as well as the misrepresentations of the citizens of this Metropolis in this interesting and alarming state of the liberties of America," offered a series of



resolutions which were separately voted upon and passed unanimously. Their general tenor indicated the strong desire of the citizens to put themselves on record as declaring that the Boston Port Act was unconstitutional, that Boston was suffering in a common cause as a result of the attack upon her liberty, that it was the opinion of the meeting that "if the principal colonies should jointly cease trading with Great Britain that this will prove the salvation of America," that the Deputies who should represent the colony at the projected Congress be instructed to agree for the city upon a Non-Importation Agreement to remain in effect until the Boston Port Bill be repealed and the grievances of America be redressed and that their representatives should also agree to all other measures which the Congress shall deem best to adopt. In addition it was resolved that all present would observe any regulation which the Congress should enact, that a subscription be immediately started to relieve the distresses of the Bostonians, and finally that the city Committee of Correspondence be instructed to use their utmost endeavours to carry the resolutions into effect.

The next day at a meeting of the Committee of Correspondence the proceedings of the day before, which evidently had been designed to throw odium upon the Committee,

were disavowed, whereupon eleven of its members, among whom were Sears, McDougall and Jacobus Van Zandt, in an open letter to the people over their signatures, handed in their resignations.

From that time on, however, the Committee of Correspondence became more alert and kept in frequent conference with the Committee of the Mechanics, who represented the more radical element of the city and to whose influence was due the fact that the New York delegates went to the Congress at Philadelphia pledged to advocate a policy of Non-Importation.

Undoubtedly the loyalty to the Administration displayed by many of New York's most worthy and influential citizens arose from the fact that their Colony had been particularly fortunate in having for Governors men who preferred to conciliate rather than to offend. The tale of the swift punishment meted out by the Crown to an unfaithful Executive over a century and a half before was frequently cited to show the beneficial effects of justice, as well as to expose the canker which was eating away the ties which had hitherto bound the Colonies to Great Britain.

"In the late Queen Ann's reign," wrote the editor of the *Middlesex Journal* in the latter part

of September, 1774, "when Lord Cornbury was Governor of New York, a committee was appointed by the general assembly of that province to examine into the grievances of their constitution. This committee paying due attention both to the prerogatives of the crown, and the liberty of the subject, proceeded to draw up several noble and spirited resolves, which were approved by the assembly then sitting; who thereupon exhibited a complaint to her Majesty, against Lord Cornbury's haughty and oppressing government. To which the Queen returned this truly gracious answer: 'I have heard the cries of my injured subjects, nor will I countenance my nearest relation in oppressing my people.' Though Lord Cornbury was her cousin, she divested him of his commission and put Lord Lovelace in his place. If his present Majesty had judged as wisely, we should have had no American disturbances."

The tidings of the material assistance forwarded to distressed Boston from New York, of the disinclination of her people to contribute to the comfort of those employed in carrying out the royal commands in Boston, and of her action in sending Deputies to the Congress at Philadelphia came like a thunderbolt to the Ministry, for New York's course, in the years immediately preceding, had fostered the belief that

this Colony of all others could be counted on to remain submissive to the King's mandate. The seriousness of the situation in America was at last apparent to all.

As instancing the attitude of New York and her decision to stand by Boston in her trouble the English press had noted that "General Gage sent an order to New York for eight hundred pair of blankets, which order was presented to every Merchant in town, who all nobly refused supplying them, returning for answer 'that they never would supply any article for the benefit of men who were sent as enemies to their country.' "

That there was no such unanimity of action as was attributed to the New York merchants, may be deduced from the perusal of a Broadside dated October 1st, 1774, in which Isaac Sears and Anthony Griffiths and others of the Committee, who had been appointed "to call upon sundry persons held to be purchasing and shipping goods for the supply of the troops in Boston," made a written denial that they had "arbitrarily censured and threatened several worthy and respected persons among 'our Fellow Citizens.' " The Broadside further certified over the signatures of John Lamb, Francis Van Dyke and others that at the meeting at which the Committee was appointed "no in-

structions were charged the committee to threaten the gentlemen to whom they were sent."

In the preceding pages frequent reference has been made to the practice of the Sons of Liberty of issuing "Cards" and "Addresses to the Public," which circulated throughout the city and surrounding towns and thereby disseminated information of their calls for meetings, warnings against acts considered detrimental to the general welfare of the Colonies, and addresses upon topics which were then engrossing the public attention.

On October 3d, 1774, another of these cards made its appearance in the streets of New York, was reprinted freely in various English newspapers early in the following January, and thereby furnished our cartoonist with the knowledge of the droll incident which he utilized to portray, in a humourous manner, the attitude assumed by the people living in the Colonies towards those actively engaged in the royal service. The extract printed below, which appeared in the *Kentish Gazette* of January 7th, 1775, tells the story of the cartoon issued 14 Feb., 1775, a reproduction of which may be seen on page 215.

"The following card, copies of which were circulated at New York, is too singular not to merit insertion:

## THE BOSTON PORT BILL

“A Card,

“New York, Oct. 3rd.

“The thanks of the *worthy* sons of liberty in solemn Congress assembled, were this night voted and unanimously allowed to be justly due to Mr. Jacob Vredenburgh, Barber, for his *firm spirited* and *patriotic conduct*, in refusing to complete an operation, vulgarly called *Shaving*, which he had begun on the face of Captain John Crozer, Commander of the Empress of Russia, one of his Majesty's transports, now lying in the river, but most *fortunately* and *providentially* was informed of the identity of the gentleman's person, when he had about half finished the job.

“It is most devoutly to be wished that all Gentlemen of the Razor will follow this wise, prudent, interesting and praiseworthy example, so steadily, that every person who pays due allegiance to his Majesty, and wishes Peace, Happiness, and Unanimity to the Colonies, may have his beard grow as long as ever was King Nebuchadnezzar's.”

The main feature of the scene, the ejection of the half-shaven customer, after the disclosure of his identity by the letter addressed “*To Cap<sup>n</sup> Crozer.*” (which may be seen in the hands of the messenger), humourously delineated America's determination to refrain from contributing to the comfort of those in the royal service.



**The PATRIOTICK BARBER of NEW YORK, or the CAPTAIN in the SUDS.**  
*Then Patriot would maintain this stand  
 And whilst they sweat at Amies hand  
 Produce the Golden Rule*  
*Forbid the Captains there to roam,  
 Half shaves them first then send em home  
 Objects of ridicule*

Plate III

London: Printed for R. Sayer & J. Bennett, at the Fleet Street, 12 Feb. 1775.





The wording of the title "The PATRIOTICK BARBER of NEW YORK, or the CAPTAIN in the SUDS" and the accompanying verse,

*Then Patriot grand, maintain thy Stand,  
And whilst thou sav'st Americ's Land,  
Preserve the Golden Rule;  
Forbid the Captains there to roam,  
Half shave them first, then send 'em home,  
Objects of ridicule.*

evidence a London print-seller's conviction that America's stand in behalf of Boston was receiving the approval of the British public.

The shop represented was located on Barclay Street, as indicated by the name over the doorway. The wall decorations, mezzotint portraits of Pitt and Camden, and the Broad-sides containing a recent speech by Lord Chatham, and the "Articles of Association," give evidence of the artist's belief that the Sons of Liberty in New York were only contending for that justice for Boston demanded by statesmen on both sides of the water. The wig boxes, which may be seen among the furnishings of this well-appointed barber shop, are the extraordinary feature of the cartoon, labelled, as they are, with twelve names of the patrons of this rabidly patriotic tonsorial artist, Jacob Vredenburgh.

The selection of the names was a remarkable

one, as diligent search through, not only contemporary literature but also subsequent historical writings upon these Sons of Liberty, fails to disclose the source whence the list was compiled. Only by tracing the later records of certain of the personages here named can the assumption be made that all of those here inscribed were either members of the organization whose gathering-place is here pictured, or were in sympathy with it.

All classes of society were represented, merchants, mechanics, lawyers, artisans and petty tradesmen. Some of the names, such as those of *Alexander M<sup>c</sup>Dugell* (McDougall), *John Lamb* and *Isaac Sears*, belonged to the most active patriot leaders in New York and could well have been obtained from almost any record of the townsmen's protest against the encroachment on their rights.

During the previous four years no personage had figured more prominently in the colonial eye than Alexander McDougall, "the American Wilkes," who acquired this title by his imprisonment for publishing an anonymous pamphlet addressed "To the Betrayed Inhabitants of the City and Colony of New-York," in which the Assembly of New York were attacked for disregarding the example of refusal set by their brothers in Massachusetts-Bay and South Caro-

lina, and ignominiously acceding to the request of their Governor in voting supplies for the maintenance of the royal troops stationed among them. Early in the next year the authorship of this was traced to McDougall, who was arrested, and, after refusing to give bail, though possessed of ample means, was imprisoned for thirteen months in the New Jail, a view of which, as it appeared before being remodelled for use as the Hall of Records, ornaments the initial letter of this chapter. The story of McDougall's sojourn there needs no repetition here.

Two of the others, *Anthony Griffiths* and *Francis Van-Dyke*, might have been secured from the Broadside mentioned on page 212, or from other documents of a similar nature, for their energy was especially noteworthy when any policy of intimidation was required.

No trace can be found of the membership of *Cornelius Low the big* in the Sons of Liberty. This name seems to have been a facetious designation of the elderly, well-to-do merchant Cornelius P. Low, who, in 1759, had fitted out privateers to prey upon the enemy's commerce. The inference can be drawn that he was strongly in sympathy with the organization, if not actually a member thereof, from the fact that his name appears among those constituting the "Committee of One Hundred," appointed to

take charge of the administration of local affairs just after the news of the battle of Lexington reached the city of New York. That the owner of the next box, *Abraham Livingston*, if not openly active in political circles, was loyal to the cause of the Colonies, is proven by his subsequent rank of Captain in Marinus Willett's "Regiment of the Line" and his appointment as Commissary by the Provincial Congress of New York, and also by the fact that in 1776 he received the contract for the victualling of the New York troops.

In inscribing the name of *Bleck Jobnno* an error manifestly crept in, as no record appears of any individual thus designated. There can be little doubt, however, of the personage referred to being one John Blagge, a strenuous patriot, the popular Coroner of the town at the time, and later on an Alderman under the régime of the "Committee of One Hundred." The mistake can easily be accounted for by phonetic spelling and recourse to a nickname.

In the enrolling of *William Lugg* among these Sons of Liberty confirmation is also lacking, the nearest name recorded being that of one Charles Lugg, who appeared in the list of Freemen of the City as having obtained his papers in 1757, and as being a rigger by occupation, a class who were among the most enthusiastic supporters of

the Sons of Liberty, especially when any display of force was demanded.

The last three names were those of influential merchants. Of these *Jacobus V<sup>n</sup> Zandt* might be classed as among the most radical and prominent of the Sons of Liberty, for his activities in the cause of his country had not only been of long duration but also continued for many years thereafter, as the records show that he served on the "Committee of One Hundred" and represented New York in the Provincial Congress throughout the Revolution. The next name *c<sup>t</sup> Broome* can be identified as belonging to Samuel Broome, the Captain of the "Union" Independent Company, whose constant drillings on the Common betokened their determination to be prepared for any emergency. That of *Welle (Walter) Franklin* belonged to a respected citizen and one devoted to his country, who had acted as one of the "Committee of Inspection against Non-Importation" during the period of the last Non-Importation Agreement, at a time when ruin and bankruptcy stared commercial circles in New York in the face.

The assumption may safely be made that the above-mentioned formidable array of names, apparently sanctioning the indignity put upon a King's captain, was not selected at random—including, as it did, names well known both in

## THE BOSTON PORT BILL

Whitehall and the counting-rooms of London—some of which, McDougall, Lamb, Sears, Livingston, Broome and Griffiths were afterwards inscribed upon the roll of honour of the defenders of our country ; others, Sears, Blagge, Griffiths, Broome and Van Zandt appearing ten years later among the forty signers of the petition for a new charter for their city's Chamber of Commerce, and thus becoming enrolled upon the list of those who contributed largely to our nation's commercial supremacy.



V

VIRGINIA DEFIES PARLIAMENT  
AND SUPPORTS  
BOSTON

—







V

# VIRGINIA DEFIES PARLIAMENT AND SUPPORTS BOSTON



VIRGINIA'S record during the previous ten years gave ample assurance to troubled Boston that the men of this great Southern Colony would gladly and vigourously rally to her assistance. No Colony was known to have been more quick to assert itself against the Parliamentary infringements upon the liberties of the Colonies than Virginia, although peopled largely by men of Cavalier descent whose religious ties were those of the Church of England and who, favoured by climate and soil, had succeeded in accumulating wealth, with its attendant luxuries, to a degree impossible of attainment by those who

had settled on the less fertile shores, and in the more rugged climate of the northern Colonies.

Her people's claim of exemption from Parliamentary taxation had long been based upon the declaration made by Charles II, in 1676, that "taxes ought not to be laid on the inhabitants and proprietors of the Colonies, but by the common consent," and the legend on the seal of the Colony, "EN DAT VIRGINIA QUARTAM," (BEHOLD VIRGINIA GIVES THE FOURTH [CROWN]), was constantly cited by her leaders as proving that from her early days Virginia had been considered a component part of the British Kingdom and her people thereby entitled to all the privileges of British citizenship.

The Virginians were justly proud of their seal, for it had been presented to them by Charles II, upon the Restoration of the Monarchy, in recognition of Virginia's loyalty to the cause of the Stuarts. It originally consisted of an escutcheon, quartered with the arms of the Stuarts supported by two knights in armour, was crested by a long-haired queen, and bore the legend "EN DAT VIRGINIA QUINTUM." Upon the union of England and Scotland, the seal which appears at the head of this chapter was substituted, the design being taken from a crude type metal engraving which had long adorned the first page of their semi-weekly newspaper, *The Virginia Gazette*,

published at Williamsburg. The changes from the original seal were caused by the substitution of the arms of the Georges for those of the Stuarts, and the word "QUARTAM" for "QUINTUM" in the legend; the four crowns thus officially recognized as composing the Kingdom being those of Great Britain, Ireland, France and Virginia.

In the year 1764 when the news of the passage of the Act of 1764 and of the proposal for a Stamp Tax reached Williamsburg, Virginia at once formally petitioned the King, through her Council and House of Burgesses, entreating him to "protect your people of this Colony in the enjoyment of their ancient and inalienable right to be governed by such laws respecting their internal policy and taxation as are derived from their own consent—a right, which as men and as descendants of Britons they have ever quietly possessed since by royal permission and encouragement they left the mother kingdom to extend its commerce and dominion."

Virginia at the same time sent a strong remonstrance to the House of Commons protesting against the violation of established rights, and expressing the hope "that the Commons will not prosecute a measure which those who suffer under it could not but look upon as fitter for exiles driven from their native country after ignomin-

iously forfeiting its favour and protection, than for the posterity of loyal Britons, that the exercise of such constitutional power, even in this remote corner, might be dangerous in its example." A petition, offered by Montagu, the Virginia agent, presented in behalf of Virginia by Sir William Meredith, and strongly supported by Conway, the House refused to receive. Less than forty members voted in its favour, so unanimous was then the feeling that the Colonies should assist the Exchequer in maintaining the royal forces in America.

Then came the Stamp Act, the story of which has been told in an earlier chapter of this volume. In the following June, the flame of revolt then kindling in the Colonies was fanned by the following resolutions, all six of which were printed in the Colonial press as having been passed by the House of Burgesses of Virginia on May 30th.

The text of the resolutions, which appeared in the *London Chronicle* of October 15th–17th, 1765, has been selected for reprinting here, as it correctly noted that the last two resolves were acted upon only by the House sitting as a Committee of the Whole, and not passed by it when in legislative session. It was of little moment that the last two resolutions failed of passage, for the other Colonies accepted the entire six as Virginia's challenge to Parliament.

*“ Williamsburgh in Virginia, August 22.*

“ The following are the resolutions the House of Burgesses are come to very lately, with respect to the Stamp-duty, immediately on the receipt of a copy of the act of parliament from England, on which the Governor dissolved the assembly

“ *WHEREAS*, the Hon. \* \* \* \* \* [House] of \* \* \* [Commons] in England, have of late drawn into question how far the General Assembly of this colony hath power to enact laws for laying of taxes and imposing duties, payable by the people of This his Majesty’s most ancient colony: for settling and ascertaining the same to all future times, the House of Burgesses of this present General Assembly have come to the following resolutions :

“ *Resolved*, That the first adventurers, settlers of This his Majesty’s colony and dominion of Virginia, brought with them, and transmitted to their posterity, and all other his Majesty’s subjects since inhabiting in this his Majesty’s said colony, all the privileges and immunities that have at any time been held, enjoyed and possessed by the people of Great Britain.

“ *Resolved*, That by the two royal charters, granted by King James the First, the colonists aforesaid are declared entitled to all privileges and immunities of faithful Liege and natural born subjects, to all intents and purposes, as if they had

been abiding, and born within the realm of England.

“ *Resolved*, That his Majesty’s liege people of This his most ancient colony, have enjoyed the right of being thus governed by their own Assembly in the article of taxes, and internal police, and that the same have never been forfeited, or any other way yielded up, but have been constantly recognized by the King and people of Great Britain.

“ *Resolved*, therefore, That the general Assembly of this colony, together with his Majesty or his Substitute, have in their representative capacity the only exclusive right and power to lay taxes and impositions upon the inhabitants of this colony; and that every attempt to vest such a power in any other person or persons whatsoever, other than the General Assembly aforesaid, is illegal, unconstitutional, and unjust, and has a manifest tendency to destroy British, as well as American freedom.

“ *The following RESOLVES were not passed, only drawn up by the Committee.*

“ *Resolved*, That his Majesty’s liege people, the inhabitants of this Colony, are not bound to yield obedience to any law or ordinance whatever, designed to impose any taxation whatever upon them, other than the laws or ordinance of the General Assembly aforesaid:

## VIRGINIA SUPPORTS BOSTON

“*Resolved*, That any person who shall, by speaking or writing, maintain that any person or persons, other than the General Assembly of this colony, have any right or power to impose or lay any taxation whatsoever on the people here, shall be deemed an enemy to This his Majesty’s colony.”

These resolutions introduced and carried through by Patrick Henry, until then almost unknown at the Capital, were opposed by many of the more conservative leaders, yet such was the persuasive eloquence of the young orator, that after two days of debate these defiant resolves were passed and given to the world as Virginia’s reply to Parliament.

The reception accorded at Hampton and Williamsburg to the bearer of the stamps, was no less hearty than elsewhere, and little persuasion was needed to secure a promise from Col. George Mercer, who had undertaken to carry the stamps to Virginia, that he would not assist in the execution of the malodourous Act without the consent of the Assembly. The judiciary boldly opposed its enforcement and the Court of Northampton, Va. on February 8th, 1766, “unanimously declared it to be their opinion that the said act did not bind, affect, or concern the inhabitants of this colony inasmuch as they conceive the same to be unconstitutional.”

The Stamp Act and the Acts of 1767 which followed were as bitterly condemned, and the Non-Importation Associations resulting therefrom, were as enthusiastically supported in Virginia as in any of the other Colonies.

When, however, in 1769 the news reached Virginia that both houses of Parliament had sent an address to the King, in which they expressed their satisfaction with the measures he had taken to maintain the royal authority in Massachusetts, and further besought his Majesty to obtain through the Governor of that colony all information possible concerning those persons who had been guilty of treasonable practice, with a view of transporting them to England for trial, the House of Burgesses, resenting the abrogation of their fellow colonists' inalienable right of trial by a jury at home, boldly passed the following resolution which asserted, "their exclusive right to tax their constituents, and their right to petition their sovereign for redress of grievances, and the lawfulness of procuring the concurrence of the other colonies in praying for the royal interposition, in favour of the violated rights of America: and that all trials for treason, or for any crime whatsoever, committed in that colony, ought to be before his majesty's courts, within the said colony; and that the seizing any person residing in the said colony, suspected of any crime what-



soever, committed therein, and sending such person to places beyond the sea to be tried, was highly derogatory of the rights of British subjects."

For this rebellious action their Governor, the already dearly beloved Lord Botetourt, who, since his appointment in 1768, had aimed to serve truly both King and Colony, was obliged to dissolve the body.

The following paragraph which appeared in the *London Chronicle* for November 30th-December 2nd, 1769, gave to its readers a forcible but dispassionate description of the political situation in the colony.

"A letter from Virginia dated September 14th says, 'Lord Botetourt, notwithstanding all his complacency, and a heart, I really believe, warm for the happiness of the country over which he presides, leads no very easy life. He has tried every method, consistent with his duty, to heal differences; but the majority are obstinate. It should seem that he has had some favourable instructions from home, by his calling a new assembly so soon after the dissolution of the last: The members are to meet the 7th of November next; but I fear they are in no disposition to alter their opinions. I cannot with pleasure enter upon giving you any further news from this country; it is a distracted subject; and the confusions

at home, joined to those of the American Colonies, are enough to make every thinking man tremble.' ”

The same newspaper two weeks later, in the following lines noted the remarkable unanimity with which the Virginians had indorsed the action of their House of Burgesses, a unanimity which had hitherto existed in no other colony. “The elections in Virginia are over and the same Assemblymen are returned. This, it is said, is the only Assembly in that colony that was ever returned by a unanimity of votes, and without one person endeavouring, in so large a province, to set up an opposition to any of the Candidates.”

The men of the House meeting after the Dissolution, as individuals, then again formed their Non-Importation Associations.

The vote of confidence by the Lords and Commons previously referred to was most pleasing to the King, yet the necessity of calming the storm of indignation in America was apparent to his royal advisers. On the 14th of May, 1769, Lord Hillsborough, the Secretary for the Colonies, wrote to Lord Botetourt as follows: “I can take upon me to assure you, notwithstanding informations to the contrary, from men, with factious and seditious views, that his Majesty’s present administration have at no time entertained a design to propose to parliament, to lay any farther

taxes upon America, for the purpose of raising a revenue, and that it is at present their intention to propose in the next session of parliament, to take off the duties upon glass, paper, and colours, upon consideration of such duties having been laid contrary to the true principles of commerce." Lord Botetourt was further informed that "his Majesty relied upon his prudence and fidelity, to make such an explanation of his Majesty's measures as would tend to remove prejudices, and to re-establish mutual confidence and affection between the Mother Country and the colonies."

Upon receipt of this letter from the Earl of Hillsborough, the Governor, whose one idea was to unite King and Colony, and who by his sympathy with those whom he was sent to govern, had won their affection, addressed the members of the House of Burgesses in the following words:

"I think myself peculiarly fortunate to be able to inform you, that, in a letter dated May the 13th, I have been assured by the Earl of Hillsborough, that his Majesty's present administration have at no time entertained a design to propose to Parliament to lay any further taxes upon America for the purpose of raising a revenue, and that it is their intention to propose in the next Session of Parliament, to take off the duties upon glass, papers and colours, upon consideration of

such duties having been laid, contrary to the true principles of commerce.”

“It may possibly be objected, that, as his Majesty’s present administration are not immortal, their successors may be inclined to attempt to undo what the present ministers shall have attempted to perform, and to that objection I can give but this answer, that it is my firm opinion, that the plan I have stated to you, will certainly take place, and that it will never be departed from ; and so determined am I forever to abide by it, that I will be content to be declared infamous, if I do not to the last hour of my life, at all times, in all places, and upon all occasions, exert every power, with which I either am or ever shall be legally invested, in order to obtain and maintain for the Continent of America, that satisfaction, which I have been authorized to promise this day, by the confidential servants of our Gracious Sovereign, who, to my certain knowledge, rates his honour so high, that he would rather part with his crown, than preserve it by deceit.”

The pledges above given were greeted with enthusiasm and the Assembly in the same conciliatory spirit made the following loyal reply :

“ We are sure our most gracious sovereign, under whatever changes may happen in his confidential servants, will remain immutable in the

ways of truth and justice, and that he is incapable of deceiving his faithful subjects; and we esteem your lordship's information not only as warranted, but even sanctified by the royal word."

To Lord Botetourt's personal character is due the fact that the Virginians, firmly persuaded that their rights were being earnestly protected by their Executive, returned to their accustomed pursuits and gave little thought to the bickerings and disputes which were constantly taking place between the governors and their people in the other Colonies.

In 1770, after two years' residence in Williamsburg death ruthlessly snatched from a career of usefulness this excellent governor and by the same stroke deprived the King of a truly loyal servant. Unlike other Executives in the Colonies, who by wilfully misrepresenting the actions of their people widened the breach between them and Parliament, Lord Botetourt served his master best by smoothing away differences which had arisen and thus restored "tranquillity and happiness" to Virginia.

American history, while denouncing the Bernards, Hutchinsons and other appointees of the King for tactics which increased the bitterness then existing between America and the Administration, strangely neglects to give credit to this

worthy English nobleman for his efforts in behalf of harmony.

Norborne Berkeley, Baron De Botetourt, (whose name may be seen upon the statue pictured in the engraving heading this chapter and in the cartoon reproduced on page 277) was little known to those whom he was sent to govern. He was appointed to succeed Sir Jeffrey Amherst to carry out the new and conciliatory policy of the Crown, of having the colonial governors reside in the colonies, and was given the title of "His Majesty's Lieutenant, Governor General, and Commander-in-Chief of the Colony and Dominion of Virginia, and Vice-Admiral of the Same." He was described by the opposition London papers as a sycophant and a puppet of Lord Hillsborough, the much detested Secretary for the Colonies, yet the pacific attitude and tactfulness displayed by him in his treatment of his people and his openly expressed sympathy for them in their trouble, soon changed suspicion into admiration, and bid fair to heal the breach which had reached such alarming proportions.

An abstract from a letter\* dated London, August 16th, 1768, written by Col. George Mercer of Virginia to one of his brothers gives some insight into the new governor's character and pre-

---

\* "The Life of George Mason," by Kate Mason Rowland, Vol. I, pp. 132-3.

vious history, though from the complimentary allusion to Lord Hillsborough with which the letter begins, it must be acknowledged that the writer had strong Tory leanings.

“I congratulate you and my country on the appointment of Lord Botetourt to the government of Virginia. Lord Hillsborough, who is indefatigable in his endeavour to do good to the Colonies, and he made acquainted with their real situation and complaints—I believe has determined no longer to allow posts in America, but especially governments, to be enjoyed by non-residents, and I know it was the first thing he thought of on entering into his office, to reform this terrible abuse in Virginia. At last thank Heaven he has effected the great work, and surely has given us a strong proof of his opinion of the consequence of an American government, by his appointment of Lord Botetourt; a man of a very amiable character here, remarkable for his very great attention to business, as he was said never to be absent from the House of Commons during twenty years he was a member of it, at reading of prayers or when the house was adjourned, and he has been as remarkable since he came to the House of Peers for his close attendance there. He never was married, has been ever commended for his hospitality and affability, has, I believe, a very independent fortune, and, I know, one of

the prettiest seats in England, as I have often visited it with great pleasure. You'll find his Lordship's title a very old one, though he was long kept out of it. He is one of the Lords of the King's Bed Chamber, and has always sat in the chair, since his title was acknowledged, when the Lords have been in a committee. Upon my honour I think from his general character and the small acquaintance I have the honour of with him, no man is more likely to make the people of Virginia happy, nor scarce any one who will be able more and essentially to serve them here, and I do most sincerely rejoice at his appointment. . . .

"If you have any worthy, industrious young man to recommend as a clerk to the Governor—he must not be a gentleman above his business—perhaps you may get the berth for him. I have told his Lordship that Mr. Walthoe and you will be able to furnish him with one immediately. Remember if you choose to be concerned in the recommendation, that his Lordship is a man of business, and [will] employ no fine, proud young gentleman who will be above his employment."

Lord Botetourt was a man of fine education and a lover of the liberal arts. Shortly after his arrival at Williamsburg, with the view of stimulating the love for learning in the Colony, he presented to her highly flourishing College of William and Mary, gold medals, which were awarded



annually for the next four years for excellence in both the classics and mathematics. His interest in education, as well as the fact that he had no sympathy with the intolerance of the times, though a member of the Church of England, may be deduced from the following extract from the *Virginia Gazette* of November 2nd, 1769.

“Last Sunday afternoon the Reverend Dr. Witherspoon, President of the College of Nassau Hall, at Princeton, preached to a crowded audience in the capitol yard (there being no house in town capable of containing such a multitude), and gave universal satisfaction. After sermon a collection was made for this excellent and growing foundation, which as yet has no other support, than the generosity of the public, that amounted to upwards of 66 pounds, and we have it from good authority that his Excellency the Governor [Lord Botetourt] has paid into the hands of Dr. Witherspoon, for the same benevolent purpose a further donation of fifty pounds (such a glorious spirit for the encouragement of useful learning deserves the highest praise, and no doubt will afford much pleasure to every lover of the sciences).”

The esteem in which Lord Botetourt was held in the Colony and the sorrow at his death were fittingly described in the *Virginia Gazette* of October 18th, 1770, as follows :

*“Williamsburg October 18th.*

“On Monday the 15th Instant, about one o’clock in the Morning, departed this Life, universally lamented throughout this Colony, his Excellency the Right Honourable NORBORNE, Baron de BOTETOURT, his Majesty’s Lieutenant, Governor General and Commander in Chief of the Colony and Dominion of Virginia, and Vice-Admiral of the same. Truly and justly to express the many great virtues and amiable Qualities which adorn’d this noble Lord, as well in his public as private character, would demand the skill of the ablest penman. Suffice it then to inform such Parts of the world as were Strangers to his transcendent merits, that Virginia, in his Fall, sorely laments the Loss of the best of Governors, and the best of Men. Let his distant Relations and Friends be told that we have all anticipated, and shall, to the latest Period, share their Grievs and deep afflictions; and that we condole with them, with the warmth of the most tender affection.”

Another contemporary opinion of the personal character of Lord Botetourt may be derived from the following incident related by Robert C. Nicholas of Virginia, a man whose political affiliations and activities were entirely with the party opposed to the crown.

“Visiting, on one occasion, Lord Botetourt,

with whom he lived in the strictest friendship, he observed to that nobleman, 'My Lord, I think you will be very unwilling to die; and when asked what gave rise to that remark, 'Because,' said he, you are so social in your nature and so much beloved, and have so many good things around you that you must be loath to leave them.' His lordship made no reply; but a short time after, being on his deathbed, he sent in haste for Colonel Nicholas, who lived near the palace, and who instantly repaired thither to receive the last sighs of his dying friend. On entering his chamber, he asked his commands. 'Nothing,' replied his lordship, 'but to let you see that I resign those good things, of which you formerly spoke with as much composure as I enjoyed them.' After which he grasped his hand with warmth, and instantly expired."

A graphic description of the scene in the Capitol at the time the memorial statue to Lord Boteourt was voted is preserved in the letter from Richard Bland to his friend Thomas Adams, then absent in England. The tribute paid therein is all the more noteworthy from the fact that it came from one of the men chosen three years later to represent Virginia in the Continental Congress at Philadelphia.

"Virginia, August 1st, 1771.

". . . By the enclosed Sheet of the House of

Burgesses Journals, containing their address in answer to the President's speech at the opening of the last assembly, you will see the Sentiments the Country entertained of our late Governor. But the assembly were not content in with demonstrating their gratitude to the memory of that excellent man, by verbal declarations only ; they have showed it by a more substantial Evidence. A very elegant Statue, of him, is to be erected, at the Public Expence, with proper Inscriptions expressing the grateful Sense this country entertained of his Lordship's prudent and wise administration ; and their great Solicitude to perpetuate, as far as they are able, the Remembrance of those many Public & Social virtues which adorned his illustrious character. These are the words of the Resolution. The Motion for this Statue was no sooner made than a universal Plaudit rung through the House of Burgesses and the cry was AGREED NEMINE CONTRA DISSENTE. So high does the memory of this worthy man stand in the opinion of this Country. No certain sum is appropriated for this Statue. It is to be sent for to Great Britain under the direction of six Gentlemen who are to have it executed by the best Statuary in England, that it may be an ornament to our Capitol, where it is to be Fixed, and a lasting and elegant Testimony that this Country will ever pay the most distinguished Regard

## VIRGINIA SUPPORTS BOSTON

and Veneration to Governors of Worth and Merit."

The statue, on its arrival from England in 1774, was placed on the grounds of the Capitol, and faced the House of Burgesses (a view of this building is contained in the initial letter of this chapter). Later on, after the seat of government had been removed to Richmond as being more inaccessible to British attack, it was transported to its present resting-place, the beautiful and ancient campus of William and Mary College at Williamsburg, and here bears testimony not only to Virginia's bereavement over the loss of her Governor, but also, by the inscriptions on its pedestal, vividly recalls the loyal and dignified attitude assumed towards the royal government by the men by whom it was voted.

It was chiselled out of Italian marble. Upon the base appears the name of the sculptor

RICHARD HAYWARD

LONDON, MLCCLXXII

The figure itself, though its nose is mutilated and the right hand missing, fortunately shows but slightly the effects of long exposure to climatic influences and the ravages of war, for during four long years Williamsburg was little more than a hostile camp.

The marble pedestal, however, remains in an

## THE BOSTON PORT BILL

almost perfect state of preservation and is remarkable not only for the marvelously beautiful carvings of honeysuckle and acanthus leaves, which form respectively its upper and lower borders, but also for the fine proportions of the four sides, all of which were devoted to inscriptions perpetuating Virginia's tribute to the virtue of the man who had been her Governor, and also to defining, in quiet but forcible language, her attitude in the then all-absorbing differences between King and Colonies. The front panel of the pedestal, as may be seen in the engraving at the beginning of this chapter, bears the following inscription :

THE  
RIGHT HONOURABLE  
NORBORNE BERKELEY  
BARON DE BOTETOURT  
HIS MAJESTY'S  
LATE LIEUTENANT AND  
GOVERNOR GENERAL OF THE  
COLONY AND DOMINION  
OF VIRGINIA

Below this inscription appears the coat of arms of the one in whose memory the statue was erected (an engraving of this appears in the right-hand panel of the illustration which heads this chapter). On the side of the pedestal under the broken arm is carved in Roman letters the following acknowledgment of Virginia's debt of

## VIRGINIA SUPPORTS BOSTON

gratitude to her late Governor ; beneath this are two lines of protest against unwise legislation.

DEEPLY IMPRESS'D WITH THE WARMEST SENSE  
OF GRATITUDE FOR HIS EXCELLENCY THE  
RIGHT HONB<sup>LE</sup> LORD BOTETOURT'S PRUDENT  
AND WISE ADMINISTRATION, AND THAT THE  
REMEMBRANCE OF THOSE MANY PUBLIC AND  
SOCIAL VIRTUES WHICH SO EMINENTLY  
ADORN'D HIS ILLUSTRIOUS CHARACTER, MIGHT  
BE TRANSMITTED TO LATEST POSTERITY,  
THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF VIRGINIA  
ON THE XX DAY OF JULY ANN: DOM: M.DCC.LXXI  
RESOLVED WITH ONE UNITED VOICE TO ERECT  
THIS STATUE TO HIS LORDSHIP'S MEMORY.  
LET WISDOM AND JUSTICE PRESIDE IN ANY COUNTRY;  
THE PEOPLE WILL REJOICE AND MUST BE HAPPY.

Graceful as is the phraseology of this tribute, yet on the side of the pedestal shown in the engraving may be seen a still more beautifully worded recognition of the lamented Governor's efforts to right wrongs from which not only Virginia herself, but other American Colonies were suffering.

AMERICA ! BEHOLD YOUR FRIEND !  
WHO, LEAVING HIS NATIVE COUNTRY,  
DECLIN'D THOSE ADDITIONAL HONOURS, WHICH  
WERE THERE IN STORE FOR HIM, THAT  
HE MIGHT HEAL YOUR WOUNDS, AND RESTORE  
TRANQUILLITY AND HAPPINESS TO THIS  
EXTENSIVE CONTINENT : WITH WHAT ZEAL  
AND ANXIETY HE PURSUED THESE GLORIOUS  
OBJECTS, VIRGINIA THUS BEARS HER  
GRATEFUL TESTIMONY.

On the rear of the pedestal (see page 282) is an exquisitely carved bas-relief, emblematic of Virginia's desire for a peaceful solution of the differences which had arisen between King and Colony—two figures, Britannia and an Indian—Great Britain and America—extending to each other the olive branch. Between them stands a classic altar upon which is carved the word

## CONCORDIA.

After the death of Lord Botetourt, William Nelson, the President of the Council, acted as the Executive until the arrival of the new Governor, Lord Dunmore, in 1772. This representative of the Crown adopted a different course of action from that of his noble predecessor, and by his haughty conduct and evident contempt for the men of Virginia stirred up anew the animosities which Lord Botetourt had succeeded in allaying.

In March, 1773, the Virginia House of Burgesses became alarmed at the situation in Massachusetts-Bay, and also at the threatened punishment of the Colony of Rhode Island for her part in the affair of the Gaspé, and meeting as a Committee of the Whole, passed resolutions which called on the legislative bodies in the various Colonies to appoint Committees of Correspondence which should communicate with a



similar Committee of Virginians on all matters regarding the public safety. The Assembly of Massachusetts-Bay had invited the towns of that province to form similar Committees of Correspondence in order that a province might act as a unit. Virginia took steps to unite a nation.

News of the threatened closing of the Port of Boston was carried to the various Colonies by speedy messengers, and reached Williamsburg on the morning of May 24th, 1774. The *Virginia Gazette* of May 26th–28th described the action instantly taken by the House of Burgesses, with its attending results, under the heading of

*“Proceedings of the House of Burgesses*

“Tuesday, the 24th of May, 14 Geo. III. 1774.

“This House being deeply impressed with apprehension of the great dangers to be derived to British America from the hostile invasion of the city of Boston, in our sister colony of Massachusetts-Bay, whose commerce and harbour are on the 1st day of June next to be stopped by an armed force, deem it highly necessary that the said 1st day of June be set apart by the members of this house as a day of fasting, humiliation, and prayer, devoutly to implore the divine interposition for averting the heavy calamity which threatens destruction to our civil rights and the evils of civil war ; to give us one heart

and one mind firmly to oppose, by all just and proper means, every injury to American rights, and that the minds of his majesty and his parliament may be inspired from above with wisdom, moderation, and justice, to remove from the loyal people of America all cause of danger from a continued pursuit of measures pregnant with their ruin.

“ORDERED, therefore, that the members of this house do attend in their places at the hour of ten in the forenoon, on the said 1st day of June next, in order to proceed with the speaker and the mace to the church in this city for the purpose aforesaid; and that the reverend Mr. Price be appointed to read prayers, and to preach a sermon suitable to the occasion.

By the House of Burgesses.

GEORGE WYTHER, C. H. B.

“In consequence of the above, his excellency the governor thought proper yesterday to dissolve the House with the following speech:

“*Mr. Speaker, and gentlemen of the house of burgesses,*

‘I have in my hand a paper, published by order of your house, conceived in such terms as reflect highly upon his majesty, and the parliament of Great Britain, which makes it necessary to dissolve you, and you are dissolved accordingly.’

“This day the late burgesses of Virginia

formed themselves into a committee, to consider the most expedient and necessary measures to guard against the encroachments which so glaringly threaten them, when they spiritedly agreed to the following association :—

“An ASSOCIATION, signed by 89 members of the late House of Burgesses.

“We his majesty’s most dutiful and loyal subjects, the late representatives of the good people of this country, having been deprived by the sudden interposition of the executive part of this government from giving our countrymen the advice we wished to convey to them in a legislative capacity, find ourselves under the hard necessity of adopting this, the only method we have left, of pointing out to our countrymen such measures as in our opinion are best fitted to secure our dearest rights and liberty from destruction, by the heavy hand of power now lifted against North America : With much grief we find that our dutiful applications to Great Britain for security of our just, antient, and constitutional rights, have been not only disregarded, but that a determined system is formed and pressed for reducing the inhabitants of British America to slavery, by subjecting them to the payment of taxes, imposed without the consent of the people or their representatives ; and that in pursuit of this system, we find an act of the

British parliament, lately passed, for stopping the harbour and commerce of the town of Boston, in our sister colony of Massachusetts Bay, until the people there submit to the payment of such unconstitutional taxes, and which act most violently and arbitrarily deprives them of their property, in wharfs erected by private persons, at their own great and proper expense, which act is, in our opinion, a most dangerous attempt to destroy the constitutional liberty and rights of all North America. It is further our opinion, that as TEA, on its importation into America, is charged with a duty, imposed by parliament for the purpose of raising a revenue, without the consent of the people, it ought not to be used by any person who wishes well to the constitutional rights and liberty of British America. And whereas the India company have ungenerously attempted the ruin of America, by sending many ships loaded with tea into the colonies, thereby intending to fix a precedent in favour of arbitrary taxation, we deem it highly proper and do accordingly recommend it strongly to our countrymen, not to purchase or use any kind of East India commodity whatsoever, except saltpetre and spices, until the grievances of America are redressed. We are further clearly of opinion, that an attack, made on one of our sister colonies, to compel submission to arbitrary taxes, is an attack

made on all British America, and threatens ruin to the rights of all, unless the united wisdom of the whole be applied. And for this purpose it is recommended to the committee of correspondence, that they communicate with their several corresponding committees, on the expediency of appointing deputies from the several colonies of British America, to meet in general congress, at such place annually as shall be thought most convenient; there to deliberate on those general measures which the united interests of America may from time to time require.

“A tender regard for the interest of our fellow subjects, the merchants and manufacturers of Great Britain, prevents us from going further at this time; most earnestly hoping, that the unconstitutional principle of taxing the colonies without their consent will not be persisted in, thereby to compel us against our will, to avoid all commercial intercourse with Britain. Wishing them and our people free and happy, we are their affectionate friends, the late representatives of Virginia.

“The 27th day of May, 1774.

“We the subscribers, clergymen and other inhabitants of the colony and dominion of Virginia, having maturely considered the contents of the above association, do most cordially approve and accede thereto,—in number 21.”

American history was being made rapidly at Williamsburg during the closing days of May, 1774. The Resolution of the 24th, the Dissolution two days later, leaving untouched much business for which the session had been called, the formation of the Association on the 28th, the arrival on the 29th of a letter from the Committee of Correspondence in Boston, to Virginia's Committee at Williamsburg, and the issuing of a call for Deputies to meet at Williamsburg on August first, made the week a memorable one. The proposed convention was called for the purpose of considering the necessity and advisability of prohibiting not only the importation of goods from Great Britain, which had been the course adopted by former Associations, but also of forbidding the exportation of Virginia's native products to Great Britain.

The engraving on page 285 pictures the old Bruton Parish Church as it appears to-day in the quaint colonial town of Williamsburg, and it is not difficult to imagine the solemnity of the scene on that June morning, when the inhabitants of the place, and those members of the House who had not returned to their homes, dressed in the deepest mourning, crowded the service ordered by their Assembly to be held in this, their sacred edifice, and participated in the Communion, served from the very silver vessels

which appear in the border of the above mentioned illustration. No more fitting description of the intensity of the feeling shown by the people of Virginia on this day has been handed down to us than the following letter which was printed in the *London Chronicle* of July 16th-19th, 1774, written by a woman evidently of English birth then resident in Williamsburg:

*“Extract of a letter from a Lady at Williamsburgh, in Virginia, to a Friend in London, dated June 1st.”*

“The state of affairs in America at present wears a very gloomy aspect, the measures fallen upon by those in power on your side of the water will make the Americans desperate, as all the colonies seem determined to unite in defence of their rights and liberties. The news of the port of Boston being blocked up came to Virginia when our Burgesses were met in General Assembly; a day of fasting and prayer was proposed and agreed to by the whole; the preamble to the proposition was in such terms as brought on a dissolution. This day being the first of June was the day appointed for the fast, which has been observed by all ranks of people. Never since my residence in Virginia have I ever seen so large a congregation as was this day assembled to hear divine service. What will be the

event God knows. Our Gentlemen of the House of Burgesses, and the Townsmen in Williamsburgh have had a meeting, but nothing has been determined ; the first of August is appointed for a general meeting of all the late Representatives of the different counties in Williamsburgh, when something will be determined upon. We expect there will be a stop put to importation and exportation, which may fall heavy on England, as she depends chiefly on her trade. America has everything within herself that is necessary and convenient. We have nothing but luxuries from England that we may very well do without. We have a large fine extensive country that would maintain millions more than it at present contains, and can do much better without England, than England can without her. You see, my sister, I talk like an American, and well I may; *she* has been kinder to *me* than my native country ; to her I owe everything I possess, and I will most chearfully comply with whatever may be thought for the general good, though it will be considerably to my disadvantage. So much for public affairs ; I fear I shall turn Politician ; a character I always disliked in a female."

The following letter published in the same news sheet a few days later foretold the action of the proposed convention of August first and prepared its readers for the stern but necessary



measures soon to be adopted in behalf of the suffering town of Boston by her fellow colonists in Virginia :

*“Extract of a Letter from a Member of the late House of Burgesses in Virginia, to his Correspondent in London, dated at Williamsburg, the 4th of June, 1774.*

“Our Assembly was suddenly dissolved the 26th of last month in consequence of the resolve (since published in the London Papers) appointing the 1st of June the day the Boston port bill was to take place, as a solemn day for fasting and prayer. Some very spirited resolutions were ready for the House respecting the conduct of Parliament towards Boston, &c., but intended to be kept up till the material and essential business of the country was finished, not suspecting a dissolution till that happened.

“The next day (the 27th of May) an association was formed, signed by 89 Members of the late House of Burgesses ; and some letters arriving from the neighbouring colonies, on this melancholy subject, before the fast which many waited for, and others were to return to, they convened, and by a unanimous resolve agreed to invite all the Members of the late House, and such of the principal Gentlemen of the country as should choose to attend, to meet the first day

of August next, to deliberate on ways and means to make Britain feel the consequence of her colonies.

“A general association you may be assured will then be formed against exports to, and imports from Britain, of course no tobacco will be made, and every person is to be bound by oath to execute this plan, and such as will be generally proposed by the other colonies. In this situation of things it is impossible even to hope for an increase of our property; and we shall undoubtedly feel great hardships in carrying a general association of such a nature into execution, but it will most certainly take place.

“We are all much concerned that our friends, and the friends to liberty in Britain must suffer in this general calamity, but we have no other weapons to fight with, and the necessity must plead the excuse. Many laws of great consequence to the colony have expired, as we were dissolved before bills were passed for their continuance.”

At every tavern and fireside in the Colony during the next two months the probable action of the convention called to meet August first was thoroughly discussed. The counties held their own conventions and elected and instructed delegates as to the course they were to adopt. That of Fairfax County was presided over by Colonel

## VIRGINIA SUPPORTS BOSTON

George Washington and passed twenty-six resolutions and entered into an Association of their own. The work of this gathering formed the basis for resolutions passed and Association entered into at Williamsburg. Among the Fairfax resolves the following is of especial interest as it voiced the opinion of Virginia on the question which eighty-seven years later precipitated the conflict between the descendants of the men who from both North and South were then uniting against the common peril, for it declared "That it is the opinion of this meeting, that during our present difficulties and distress, no slaves ought to be imported into any of the British Colonies on this continent ; and we take this opportunity of declaring our most earnest wishes to see an entire stop forever put to such a wicked, cruel, and unnatural trade."

Virginia had long realized the injustice as well as the material disadvantage of this traffic to herself, and two years previously her Assembly had sent an address to the King in which it was stated that "the importation of slaves into the colonies from the coast of Africa hath long been considered as a trade of great inhumanity, and under its present encouragement we have too much reason to fear will endanger the very existence of your Majesty's American dominions. We are sensible that some of your Majesty's sub-

## THE BOSTON PORT BILL

jects in Great Britain may reap emoluments from this sort of traffic, but when we consider that it greatly retards the settlement of the colonies with more useful inhabitants, and may, in time, have the most destructive influence, we presume to hope that the interest of a few will be disregarded, when placed in competition with the security of and happiness of such numbers of your Majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects." The protest was disregarded, hence this action of the men of Fairfax County in taking measures to redress this grievance of their own.

The convention at Williamsburg lasted six days, and unanimously entered into an Association, and passed a series of Resolutions couched in terms so comprehensive and so earnest, that they must be considered to be one of our great political classics. For the sake of a thorough understanding of the cartoon, which illustrates this chapter, as well as of forcibly picturing the attitude of the Virginians at this time, the following account of the Convention, as published in the *Middlesex Journal* of September 17th-20th, 1774, is here reprinted. For lack of space the one hundred and eight signatures thereto attached are here omitted.

## NEWS from AMERICA

*"At a very full meeting of Delegates from the*

## VIRGINIA SUPPORTS BOSTON

*different Counties in the Colony and Dominion of VIRGINIA, begun in Williamsburg the 1st Day of August, in the year of our Lord 1774, and continued, by several Adjournments to Saturday the 6th of the same Month, the following ASSOCIATION was unanimously resolved upon and agreed to.*

“ We his Majesty’s dutiful and loyal subjects, Delegates of the Freeholders of Virginia deputed to represent them at a General Meeting in the city of Williamsburg, avowing our inviolable and unshaken fidelity, and attachment to our most gracious Sovereign, our regard and affection for all our friends and fellow subjects in Great-Britain and elsewhere, protesting against every act or thing, which may have the most distant tendency to interrupt, or in any wise disturb his Majesty’s peace, and the good order of government, within this his ancient colony, which we are resolved to maintain and defend, at the risk of our lives and fortunes, but at the same time affected with the deepest anxiety, and most alarming apprehensions, of those grievances and distresses by which his Majesty’s American subjects are oppressed, and having taken under our most serious deliberation the state of the whole continent, find that the present unhappy situation of our affairs is chiefly occasioned by certain ill-advised regulations, as well of our trade as internal policy, introduced by several uncon-

stitutional Acts of the British Parliament, and, at length, attempted to be enforced by the hand of power ; solely influenced by these important and weighty considerations, we think it an indispensable duty, which we owe to our country, ourselves, and latest posterity, to guard against such dangerous and extensive mischiefs, by every just and proper means.

“ If, by the measures adopted, some unhappy consequences and inconveniences should be derived to our fellow subjects, whom we wish not to injure in the smallest degree, we hope and flatter ourselves, that they will impute them to their real cause the hard necessity to which we are driven.

“ That the good people of this colony may, on so trying an occasion continue steadfastly devoted to their most essential interests, in hopes that they will be influenced and stimulated by our example to the greatest industry, the strictest economy, and frugality, and the exertion of every public virtue, persuaded that the merchants, manufacturers, and other inhabitants of Great-Britain, and, above all, that the British Parliament will be convinced how much the true interest of that kingdom must depend on the restoration and continuance of that mutual friendship and cordiality, which so happily subsisted between us, we have unanimously, and, with one

voice, entered into the following resolutions and association, which we do oblige ourselves by those sacred ties of honour and love to our country, strictly to observe ; and farther declare, before God and the World, that we will religiously adhere to and keep the same inviolate, in every particular, until redress of all such American grievances, as may be defined and settled at the General Congress of Delegates from the different colonies, shall be fully obtained, or until this association shall be abrogated or altered by a general meeting of the deputies of this colony, to be convened, as is hereinafter directed. And we do, with the greatest earnestness, recommend this our association to all gentlemen, merchants, traders, and other inhabitants of this colony, hoping that they will cheerfully and cordially accede thereto.

“ 1st. We do hereby resolve and declare that we will not either directly or indirectly, after the first day of November next, import from Great Britain, any goods, wares, or merchandizes, whatever, (medicines excepted) nor will we, after that day, import any British manufactures, either from the West Indies, or any other place, nor any article whatever, which we shall know, or have reason to believe, was brought into such countries from Great Britain ; nor will we purchase any such articles, so imported, of

## THE BOSTON PORT BILL

any person or persons whatsoever, except such as are now in the country, or such as may arrive on or before the said first day of November, in consequence of orders already given, and which cannot now be countermanded in time.

“2dly. We will neither ourselves import, nor purchase any slave, or slaves, imported by any person, after the first day of November next, either from Africa, the West Indies, or any other place.

“3dly. Considering the article of tea as the detestable instrument which laid the foundation of the present sufferings of our distressed friends in the town of Boston, we view it with horror, and therefore resolve, that we will not, from this day, either import tea of any kind whatsoever, nor will we use, or suffer even such of it as is now on hand, to be used in any of our families.

“4thly. If the inhabitants of the town of Boston, or any other colony, should, by violence or dire necessity be compelled to pay the East India company for destroying any tea, which they have lately by their agents unjustly attempted to force into the Colonies, we will not, directly or indirectly, import or purchase any British East India commodity whatever, till the Company or some other person, on their behalf, shall refund and fully restore to the owners all such sum or sums of money as may be so extorted.

“5thly. We do resolve, that unless American



grievances are redressed before the 10th day of August, 1775, we will not, after that day, directly or indirectly, export tobacco or any other article whatever to Great Britain; nor will we sell any such articles as we think can be exported to Great Britain with a prospect of gain, to any person or persons whatsoever, with a design of putting it into his or their power to export the same to Great Britain, either on our own, his, or their account. And that this resolution may be the more effectually carried into execution, we do hereby recommend it to the inhabitants of this colony, to refrain from the cultivation of tobacco as much as conveniently may be, and in lieu thereof, that they will, as we resolve to do, apply their attention and industry to the cultivation of all such articles as may form a proper basis for manufactures of all sorts, which we will endeavour to encourage throughout this colony, to the utmost of our abilities.

“6thly. We will endeavour to improve our breed of sheep, and increase their number to the utmost extent, and to this end, we will be as sparing as we conveniently can, in killing of sheep, especially those of the most profitable kind; and if we should at any time be overstocked, or can conveniently spare any, we will dispose of them to our neighbours, especially the poorer sort of people, upon moderate terms.

“7thly. Resolved, that the merchants and other venders of goods and merchandizes within this colony, ought not to take advantage of the scarcity of goods that may be occasioned by this association, but that they ought to sell the same at the rates they have been accustomed to for twelve months last past, and if they shall sell any such goods on higher terms, or shall in any manner, or by any device whatever, violate or depart from this resolution, we will not, and are of opinion, that no inhabitant of this colony ought, at any time hereafter, to deal with any such persons, their factors or agents for any commodity whatever; and it is recommended to the Deputies of the several counties, that committees be chosen in each county, by such persons as accede to this association, to take effectual care that these resolves be properly observed, and for corresponding occasionally with the General Committee of Correspondence, in the city of Williamsburgh. Provided, that if Exchange should rise, such advance may be made in the prices of goods as shall be approved by the Committee of each county.

“8thly. In order the better to distinguish such worthy merchants and traders, who are well-wishers to this colony, from those who may attempt, through motives of self-interest, to obstruct our views, we do hereby resolve, that we will not, after the first day of November next,

deal with any merchant or trader, who will not sign this association, nor until he has obtained a certificate of his having done so from the County Committee, or any three members thereof. And if any merchant, trader, or other person, shall import any goods or merchandize after the first of November, contrary to this association, we give it as our opinion, that such goods and merchandize should be either forthwith re-shipped or delivered up to the County Committee, to be stored at the risk of the importer, unless such importer shall give a proper assurance to the said Committee, that such goods or merchandizes shall not be sold within this colony during the continuance of this association; and if such importer shall refuse to comply with one or the other of these terms, upon application and due caution given to him or her, by the said committee, or any three members thereof, such committee is required to publish the truth of the case in the Gazettes, and in the county where he or she resides, and we will thereafter consider such person or persons as inimical to this country, and break off every connection and all dealings with them.

“9thly. Resolved, that if any person or persons shall export tobacco, or any other commodity, to Great Britain, after the 10th day of August 1775 contrary to this association, we

shall hold ourselves obliged to consider such person or persons as inimical to the community, and as an approver of American grievances ; and give it as our opinion that the public should be advertised of his conduct, as in the 8th article is desired.

“ 10thly. Being fully persuaded that the united wisdom of the General Congress may improve these our endeavours to preserve the rights and liberties in British America, we decline enlarging at present, but do hereby resolve that we will conform to, and strictly observe, all such alterations or additions, assented to by the Delegates for this colony, as they may judge it necessary to adopt, after the same shall be published and made known to us.

“ 11thly. Resolved, that we will think ourselves called upon, by every principle of humanity and brotherly affection, to extend the utmost and speediest relief to our distressed fellow-subjects in the town of Boston, and therefore most earnestly recommend it to all the inhabitants of this colony to make such liberal contributions as they can afford, to be collected, and remitted to Boston, in such manner as may best answer so desirable a purpose.

“ 12thly and lastly. Resolved, that the moderator of this meeting, and, in case of his death, Robert Carter Nicholas, Esq., be empowered, on

any future occasion that may in his opinion require it, to convene the several Delegates of this colony at such time and place as he may judge proper ; and, in case of the death or absence of any Delegate, it is recommended that another be chosen in his place."

The Congress of the Colonies, all being represented save Georgia, met in Carpenters Hall at Philadelphia (a view of which appears in the initial letter of Chapter III) on September 5th, 1774, and remained in session until October 25th. A brief mention of its proceedings must here suffice. The radical action of the Virginia Convention formed the basis for an Association entered into by the Colonies represented. In addition the Congress issued a "Declaration of Rights," a "List of Grievances," a "Series of Resolves," and a "Letter to General Gage" requesting that he cease from carrying to completion certain military measures which were most obnoxious to the people of Boston. It also drew up and forwarded an "Address to the People of Great Britain," an "Address to the Inhabitants of the Colonies" and a "Letter to the Inhabitants of the Province of Quebec." The papers comprising this series, on account of their logical utterances and solid reasoning, as well as their effect upon our country's history, may well be classed with the Declaration of Independence,

which less than two years later was drawn up and signed by many of the same men who were then meeting to devise measures to assist the persecuted town of Boston and the Colony of Massachusetts-Bay.

News of the proceedings of the Congress was eagerly awaited in England and the results of its labours were published at length in the English press: their wisdom and moderation invoked many encomiums upon America's protest against the treatment of Boston.

Virginia's call for a Congress of the Colonies had resulted in the formation of a nation. The various mutual jealousies, which had hitherto kept the Colonies from acting together, were now laid aside, and the moral emphasized by the "disjointed snake" with its suggestive legend "JOIN OR DIE" (see page 3), which had adorned the front page of many of the Colonial newspapers, was thus rendered obsolete and was superseded by the symbol of a "living snake" encircling a "Tree of Liberty" resting on the Magna Charta, and supported by the stalwart arms of the twelve Colonies represented at Philadelphia.

This crudely drawn emblem of the now United Colonies, inscribed with the prophetic legend "UNITED NOW ALIVE AND FREE AND THUS SUPPORTED EVER BLESS OUR LAND—FIRM

ON THIS BASIS LIBERTY SHALL STAND TILL TIME BECOMES ETERNITY," appeared on the first page of the *New York Journal or the General Advertiser* of December 15th, 1774, and is reproduced in the engraving on page 125 of this volume.

The Virginians proceeded vigourously to put into execution the articles of the Association. The following extracts from a letter from Governor Dunmore, which, after being read in the House of Commons by Lord North, were printed at length in the press, gave a brief description of the general method by which the Association was enforced upon all parties :

"The associations first, in part, entered into, recommended by the people of this colony, and adopted by what is called the Continental Congress, are now enforcing throughout this country, with the greatest rigour. A committee has been chosen in every county, whose business it is to carry the association of the Congress into execution ; which committee assumes an authority to inspect the books, invoices, and all other secrets of the trade and correspondence of merchants ; to watch the conduct of every inhabitant, without distinction ; and to send for all such as come under this suspicion, into their presence, to interrogate them respecting all matters which, at their pleasure, they think fit objects of their inquiry ; and to stigmatise, as they

term it, such as they find transgressing, what they are now hardy enough to call the laws of the Congress ; which stigmatizing, is no other than inviting the vengeance of an outrageous and lawless mob, to be exercised upon the unhappy victims. Every county besides is now arming a company of men, whom they call an independent company, for the avowed purpose of protecting their committees, and to be employed against government, if occasion require. The committee of one county has proceeded so far, as to swear the men of their independent company to execute all orders which shall be given them from the committee of their county.

“As to the power of government which your Lordship, in your letter No. II directs should be exerted to counteract the dangerous measures pursuing here, I can assure your Lordship, that it is entirely disregarded, if not wholly overturned. There is not a Justice of Peace in Virginia that acts, except as a committee man ; the abolishing the Courts of Justice was the first step taken, in which the men of fortune and pre-eminence joined equally with the lowest and meanest. The general Court of Judicature of the Colony is much in the same predicament ; for though there are at least a majority of his Majesty’s council, who, with myself, are the Judges of that Court, that would steadily per-



form their duty, yet the lawyers have absolutely refused to attend, nor indeed would the people allow them to attend, or evidences to appear. The reason commonly assigned for this proceeding is, the want of a free-bill, which expired at the last session of the assembly ; and it is a popular argument here, that no power but the legislature can establish fees ; and the free-bill not having been renewed, is attributed to the dissolution ; but the true cause of so many persons joining in so opprobrious a measure, was to engage their English creditors, who are numerous, to join in the clamours of this country ; and not a few to avoid paying the debts in which many of the principal people here are much involved.

“ With regard to the encouraging of those, as your Lordship likewise exhorts me, who appeared, in principle, averse to these proceedings, I hope your Lordship will do me the justice to believe, I have left no means in my power un-essayed, to draw all the assistance possible from them to his Majesty’s government, but I presume your Lordship will not think it very extraordinary, that my persuasions should have been unavailing against the terrors which, on the other hand, are held out by the committee.

“ Independent companies, &c. so universally supported, who have set themselves up superior to all other authority under the auspices of their

congress, the laws of which they talk of in a stile of respect, and treat with marks of reverence which they never bestowed on their legal government, or the laws proceeding from it, I can assure your Lordship, that I have discovered no instance where the interposition of government, in the feeble state to which it is reduced, could serve any other purpose than to suffer the disgrace of a disappointment, and thereby afford matter of great exultation to its enemies, and increase their influence over the minds of the people.

“ But, my Lord, every step which has been taken by these infatuated people must inevitably defeat its own purpose. Their non-importation, non-exportation, &c. cannot fail, in a short time, to produce a scarcity, which will ruin thousands of families: the people indeed of fortune may supply themselves and their negroes for two or three years, but the middling and poorer sort, who live from hand to mouth, have not the means of doing so, and the produce of their lands will not purchase those necessaries (without which themselves and negroes must starve) of the merchants who may have goods to dispose of, because the merchants are prevented from turning such products to any account. As to manufacturing for themselves, the people of Virginia are very far from being naturally indus-

trious ; and it is not by taking away the principal, if not the only encouragement to industry, that it can be excited ; nor is it in times of anarchy and confusion that the foundation of such improvements can be laid. The lower class of people too will discover, that they have been duped by the richer sort, who, for their part, elude the whole effects of the association by which their poor neighbours perish. What then is to deter those from taking the shortest mode of supplying themselves ? and, unrestrained as they are by laws, from taking whatever they want wherever they can find it.

“The arbitrary proceedings of these committees, likewise, cannot fail of producing quarrels and dissensions, which will raise partisans of government ; and I am firmly persuaded, that the colony, even by their own acts and deeds, must be brought to see the necessity of depending on its mother country, and of embracing its authority.”

Our cartoonist unquestionably received his inspiration for picturing in a humourous way and with sympathetic moral the defiant and resolute attitude thus described as known to exist in Virginia, from the following article which appeared in the *London Chronicle* under date of January 26th, 1774, exactly three weeks before the day of issue of Plate IV of his series :

“A letter from Edinburgh, dated January 21st, says: ‘By accounts from Virginia we learn, that the people there were obliging every individual to sign a deed, binding himself to conform to every resolve of the Congress: This was complied with, by many with great reluctance, and others did actually refuse; but they at last fell upon an expedient at Williamsburgh, the provincial capital, to remedy this backwardness. They erected, at the principal avenue to the town, a very high gibbet, upon the one side of which they hung a barrel of tar, and on the other side a bag of feathers, and on each of them the following inscriptions: *A Cure for the Refractory*. In a very short time the deed bore testimony, that there was not one who had not experienced the salutary effect of so healing a medicine.’ ”

Its title, “THE ALTERNATIVE OF WILLIAMS-BURG,” well expressed the dilemma, so graphically described, which confronted those whose conduct failed to meet with the approval of the local Association.

The various personages introduced into this scene were portrayed in a way which left no doubt as to their political leanings. The two loyalists forced to sign *The Resolves of the Congress* were distinguished, no less by their disgusted countenances than by their imported



THE ALTERNATIVE OF WILLIAMS BURG.

Plate IV

London Printed for R. Sayer & J. Bennett, No 33 Fleet Street on the 1st day of Feb 1773



wearing apparel, while the Colonials in their rude, home-made dress, were given faces upon which resolution and earnestness are clearly but crudely stamped. All the accessories of a tar and feathering party were placed in evidence, the bag of feathers, the dripping tar barrel, as well as the shears, humanely utilized in relieving the intended victim of his hair prior to the bath of molten tar.

Possibly the long-faced representative of the clergy was introduced into the gathering as a reminder of the days of the "Parsons Cause" in 1763, when a Virginia jury, carried away by the persuasive eloquence of Patrick Henry, denied the power of the King to annul laws passed by their own legislative body. It is possible too that the cartoonist might have been influenced by the remembrance of the action taken by the House of Burgesses in putting itself upon record as being opposed to any attempted domination over the religious life of America, the following account of which had appeared in the London papers three years before :

"At a General Assembly for the Province and Dominion of Virginia holden at Williamsburg

*"Extract from Votes of the House of Burgesses, Friday 12 July Geo. III 1771.*

"Resolved, Nemine contradicente, that the

thanks of this House be given to the Rev. Mr. Henly, the Rev. Mr. Gwatkin, the Rev. Mr. Hewit and the Rev. Mr. Bland, for the wise and well-timed opposition they have made to the pernicious project of a few mistaken Clergymen for introducing an American Bishop, a measure by which much DISTURBANCE, great ANXIETY, and APPREHENSION would certainly take place among his Majesty's faithful American subjects; and that Mr. Richard Henry Lee and Mr. Bland do acquaint them therewith.

By the House of Burgesses.

G. WYTHE, C. H. B.' "

More probably, however, the artist recognized that the state of affairs which he was picturing foreshadowed the Disestablishment of the Anglican Church in the Colonies, and pictured the clergyman as being rightfully full of gloomy forebodings.

The insertion of the statue of a man in an attitude of deprecation and sorrow and inscribed BOTETOURT indicates the designer's knowledge of the attempt made by this recently deceased Governor to bring about a better understanding between the King and the Virginians, as well as Virginia's substantial recognition of his virtue and devotion to her interests.

The inscription on the barrel, "TOBACCO A PRESENT For JOHN WILKES, Esq. LORD



MAYOR OF LONDON," which supports one end of the table upon which the *Resolves of the Congress* and *Non-Importation Agreement* rest, demonstrate that this cartoonist too, as well as the one whose work was reproduced upon page 92, recognized the strength of the bond of sympathy existing between those in England, who were supporting Wilkes in his struggle to uphold the liberty of the people, and the men of the Colonies who, at the instigation of Virginia, had united in support of Boston.

The material at my disposal contains no reference to the receipt by Wilkes of any gift from the planters of Virginia. In 1770 subscriptions were there solicited for a fund the proceeds of which were intended to purchase forty-five hogsheads of tobacco for this gentleman. However, before the necessary amount was completed its treasurer absconded and the matter was dropped. There is a possibility that our artist had in mind the present made to Wilkes by the planters of Maryland, the following mention of which had appeared in the *London Chronicle* of October 28th-31st, 1769 :

"Samuel Vaughn Esq., had a present of five hogsheds of tobacco from Maryland brought in the same ship and from the same Gentlemen who sent Mr. Wilkes the 45 hogsheads; and Mr. Vaughn was desired by letters to pay the

## THE BOSTON PORT BILL

duties and other expences of the 45 hogsheads and deliver them to Mr. Wilkes' order without any expence whatever."

Possibly the influence of the letter quoted on page 255 may account for the introduction of women into the scene depicted in the cartoon. One of these, judging from her costume, may have well represented the family of some opulent planter, and her happy face, full of amusement, truthfully portrayed the encouragement the well-to-do Virginians were known to have received from the fair sex (see page 303). The coarse visage and uncouth garments of the companion female figure identify her as one of the lower class, who, with babe in arms and small boy armed with toy sword and "LIBERTY" flag, was witnessing this enforcement of measures which would necessarily subject the women of the Colonies to hardship and privation.

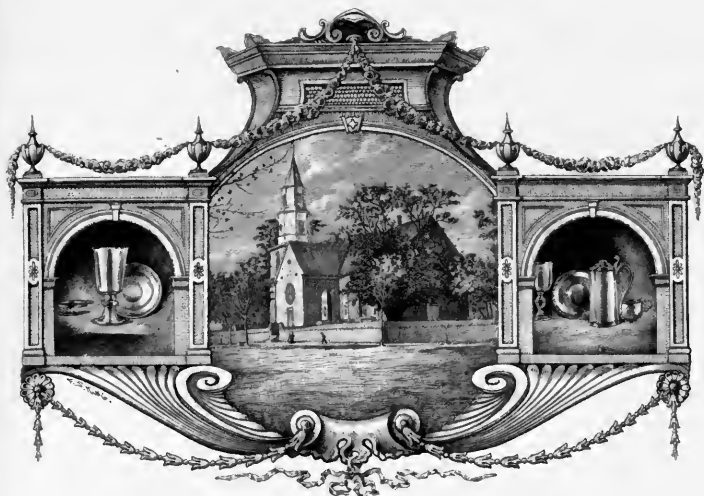


VI

ENGLISH RECOGNITION  
OF THE POLITICAL ACTIVITIES OF  
THE WOMEN OF THE COLONIES

---





# VI

## ENGLISH RECOGNITION OF THE POLITICAL ACTIVITIES OF COLONIAL WOMEN



THE preceding pages have been devoted to a description of certain incidents in Colonial life selected by our cartoonist as illustrative of the antagonistic feeling then existing in America against the British Ministry owing to the ill-fated policy that the latter were attempting to enforce. We have seen how first he pictured the attitude of the men of Boston towards his Majesty's Excisemen and the distress brought upon the people of that town in punishment for their defiance of the royal mandate. In the two following cartoons his energies were devoted to the portrayal of the determination of the men of sister colonies to refrain from contributing to

the comfort of those in the Royal Service, and the depiction of one of the methods of enforcing the measures decreed by the now united Colonies in retaliation for the despotic and brutal treatment the people of Boston were receiving at the hands of the Crown. He then ended this series with a delineation of the attitude assumed by many of our patriotic Colonial women, in enthusiastically supporting the methods devised by their husbands and fathers, to impress upon Parliament their resolution to enjoy the freedom to which, as Englishmen and descendants of Englishmen, they were constitutionally entitled.

Possibly the cartoonist was influenced in this selection by the fact that the American policy at this time was being actively discussed in feminine circles in London, as well as in America. That the sympathy of the gentler sex strongly leaned to the side of the oppressed across the Atlantic, may be inferred from the following item which appeared in the *London Chronicle* of February 7th-9th, 1775, under the heading of "London News:" "We hear that a noble Lord, duly sensible of the very great influence of the Ladies both without and within the House, has resolved on the next numerous appearance of his fair countrywomen in the galleries to order TEA to be carried up, that he may distinguish by the acceptance or refusal of this favourite drug,

whether he has a majority of female votes in his favour." The unwillingness of the Ministry to allow the test, as well as the eagerness of the women thus to record their sentiments, is briefly told in the same newspaper, two days later, in the following words: "Great numbers of Ladies attended at the House of Commons yesterday, but were refused admittance, as were all strangers; and it is said that this will be the case till the American business is finished."

Another political appeal to the women of England took the form of a shilling pamphlet. It is safe to assume that the interest in the question therein discussed, must certainly have been widespread, to have warranted the printing of the following lengthy review of this tract in the first two columns of the *London Chronicle* of March 11th-14th, 1775, eleven days before the issuance of the cartoon (reproduced on page 317) which forms the subject of this chapter:

"A LETTER to those LADIES whose HUSBANDS possess a SEAT in either HOUSE of PARLIAMENT. Quarto, Price 1 s.

"THIS Writer begins his address to the Ladies, thus:

" 'Ladies,

" 'I appeal to your knowledge.—Your husbands return from either House at a late hour,

gloomy, discontented, and pass the night sleepless, yet unkind. Ask them the cause, they answer, peevishly, that they are thoughtful and fatigued. This, as you well know is very unpleasant, and you would gladly soothe them, if you knew how, into better temper : What think you is the true cause ? I am afraid they do not much like this American business which you hear so much of ; and that their consciences are not altogether at ease.'

" Our Author having treated of the nature of the present unhappy differences between Great Britain and her Colonies, puts the following case, not only to elucidate the reasoning and distinctions he has made use of, but at the same time to explain fully and fairly the expediency or in-expediency, justice or injustice, of the American laws.

" ' Let us suppose, that that *domestic* and *grave legislator*, a *husband*, should, after a fit of spleen, say, *Madam*, or *my dear*, I find my finances are in much disorder, and I have been thinking of a new resource. Your pin money, my dear, is considerable. You must pay me thirty per cent. upon the produce. You cannot be in earnest, says the Lady, you know that every farthing of it is laid out for our mutual advantage. It is laid out in necessary articles for my person. What expence, what extravagance am I guilty



of? Besides, I buy every thing of your own tenants, who are thereby enabled to pay their rents and employ other tenants, who, again, are enabled to pay theirs, so that your estate is improved to the whole amount; whereas, if you seize upon my pin money, not only I shall be dishonoured and impoverished, but your tenants will break and your rents fail, and you will thereby lose *power* without gaining *wealth*. These arguments are too artificial, Madam, I cannot wait this circuitous course of things: I am the sole judge of *expediency*, and the money must be paid. But, my dear life, says the Lady, is not this very *unjust*? Is there not a solemn compact between us? Have not you, for various considerations, assigned me this separate article, and given me a power to *tax*, as it were, my own pocket (without accounting to you) for my own more peculiar necessities and ornaments? You have no right, my dear, to dispense with the obligations of *justice*. You question my authority, Madam? I am very unwilling to do it, Sir; if you are in want of money, let me voluntarily assist you. Do not deprive me of that merit. Put my affection to the proof. You have hitherto found the sincerity of it. It is my duty to run all fortunes with you, in sickness and in health. No extremity shall make me desert you. Only, do not commit *injustice*. Give me

the merit of my love and obedience. Let it be a reasonable service. Do not render yourself unworthy of obedience in the very act by which you demand it. I can be *obedient*, but not *base*. A *wife*, but not a *slave*.—This is the language of rebellion, Madam.—This is the tone of tyranny, Sir.—Death and hell! whips and chains shall enforce obedience.—I appeal to the law, Sir; and had rather submit to *separation* than *injustice*. Hard as it is, let me rather lose your love by *just resistance*, than incur your contempt, which my free soul cannot bear, by *base and servile submission*.—This, Ladies, is exactly the case between England and America, except that a wife would be certain of relief from *the law*, whereas America must trust to the uncertain decision of *arms*, and be compelled, at the best, to involve in final destruction the very power she loves and wishes to obey.—Now, Ladies, how noble, how glorious would it be to the female character, if you would redeem your husbands from guilt, and your country from ruin? To this end, I will relate a fact, and leave you to apply the tale.

“ ‘In the reign of Charles the First, the crown claimed a power of taxing the people of England, as the parliament now does the people of America, without their *consent*. This claim of right was founded upon the pretence of ur-

gent necessity, of which the crown affirmed itself to be the only judge. This tax was called ship-money. The right was questioned, and the point came before the Judges for a legal decision. At this time the Judges held their places during pleasure, and it was not therefore doubted but that judgment would be given for the crown. On this occasion, the wife of one of those Judges exhorted her husband to follow the dictates of his conscience. He frankly confessed that the judgment he was about to give was contrary to law, but he reminded her, that if he respected his conscience, he should certainly be dismissed; and he could not bear the thought of reducing her to poverty and distress. On this occasion she discovered the nobleness of her soul. She embraced him indeed, but she treated his false tenderness and ignoble sentiment with generous disdain. She professed the most ardent desire of encountering the hardest poverty in the cause of virtue. She solicited, she implored that he would not make himself unworthy of her affection, but that he would give her the supreme satisfaction of *esteeming* the man whom she was bound to *obey*. She willingly offered her *days* to the severest labour, upon condition only that she might pass the *night* in the bosom of an innocent and virtuous man. She prevailed, and, in the event, not only saved her husband from guilt

and dishonour, but from prisons and impeachments, in which the rest of the Judges were finally involved.' ”

In addition to this acknowledgment of the importance of securing the assistance of the women of England to the movement under way to secure justice for the American colonies, the above quoted review drew a forcible parallel between the former revolt made by the men of England against the “Ship-money tax,” and the opposition now shown by the men of America to taxes thrust upon them by a Parliament in which they were unrepresented. In the first case a tax to raise funds for the support of the Royal Navy was imposed by the King without the consent of his Parliament, and its constitutionality upheld by a Bench of Judges, all of whom save Justice Crook allowed themselves to do the King’s bidding. In the present case the taxes were laid by a Parliament, filled with the King’s “placemen and pensioners,” upon a people who had long enjoyed the right of self-management of their fiscal affairs. The story of Hampden’s bitter opposition to this tax, his defeat in the Courts, the rising of Parliament against the arbitrary power of the King and the impeachment and punishment of the corrupt judges, was a familiar one, and often cited by the advocates of America’s cause, in their pro-

testations against the arbitrary measures enacted against the American colonies.

An account of a meeting of A Society of Patriotic Ladies at Edenton, in North Carolina, appeared in various English papers about the middle of January, 1775. Possibly the imposing list of signatures attached to the resolutions passed at this gathering (see page 314) caused our cartoonist to select this incident as one fairly representative of the moral and physical support the women of the Colonies were contributing to the common cause.

No reader of English newspapers, during the long-protracted dispute between the King and the colonies, could have remained ignorant of the political activities of the colonial women. The earliest mention I have been able to find in the English press, of their entrance into the political arena, appeared in the *London Chronicle* of December 10th-12th, 1767, at the time the various Non-Importation agreements were voted as a means of combating the "Acts of 1767." A spirit of economy was then being cultivated, and the "candles" of industry and frugality, which had been advocated by Franklin, in a letter to Charles Thomson (see page 22) two years before, were burning brightly throughout America. In the following words the people of England learned of the determination of the women

of Boston to practice the retrenchment then so widely advocated :

“*Boston, New England, Nov. 2nd.* In a large circle of ladies in this town, it was unanimously agreed to lay aside the use of ribbons &c., for which there has been so great a resort to milliners in times past. It is hoped that this resolution will be followed by others of the sex throughout the province. We must after all our efforts depend greatly upon the female sex for the introduction of economy among us : And it is assured that their utmost aid will not be wanting.”

The question of the discontinuance of the use of tea had also become all-absorbing in the colonies. This beverage was then in even more general use than at present, coffee being but little drunk at this period. The cheapness of the former and its stimulating effect made it a necessity, hence a suitable substitute was eagerly sought. Shortly after the passage of the Stamp Act the disuse of tea from motives of economy was being considered in the Colonies, although at this time it had not been selected for taxation. The following makeshift was suggested in a letter from New York which appeared in the *London Chronicle* of December 12th–14th, 1765 : “I have wrote to you by this opportunity : since which the abolishing the practice of drinking tea in America is much talked of unless the Stamp Act

is repealed: This is practicable, as ground Indian corn will be substituted for breakfast in lieu of tea, and is the wholesomest food that is made use of in America."

Indian corn not having proven a success as a beverage, and tea having become an article of special taxation, many other substitutes for this delightful but politically detested article of daily consumption were suggested in the news columns of the colonial press. The following article, which appeared in the *London Chronicle* of December 29th-31st, 1767, while primarily sounding the praises of a native shrub, told of another household sacrifice being made in the Colonies in support of constitutional freedom so unjustly attacked.

"*Boston, New-England, Nov. 5th.* The use of Hyperion or Labradore tea, is every day coming into more general vogue among people of all ranks. The virtues of the plant or shrub from which this delicate tea is gathered, were first discovered by the aborigines, and from them the Canadians learned them. It soon became into such repute, that quantities were sent to France, where, it is said, it was soon in such demand, as alarmed the French East-India Company, and procured an ordinance prohibiting the importation of any more on the pain of death. So little do some politicians regard the health or

even the life of man, when either of them appear to be incompatible with their particular interests, views and projects. Before the cession of Canada to Great Britain, we knew little or nothing of this most excellent herb ; but since that we have been taught to find it growing on every hill and dale, between the lat. 40 and 60. It is to be found all over New England in great plenty, and that of the best quality, particularly on the banks of Penobscot, Kennebeck, Niche-wannock, and Merrimac. Immense quantities may be found on the mountains near the great lakes.

“Nothing short of the highest degree of infatuation and madness could ever have prevailed with us to introduce unwholesome exoticks. The voice of reason cries louder than ever for their perpetual banishment ; and the further use of them must be accounted for but by the source of invincible prejudice. This indeed sometimes leads to a preference of a rank poison, if far fetched and dear bought, to the most salubrious draught at hand, with little pains or cost, though of inestimable value.”

The same newspaper, two days later, by printing the appended address, called the attention of its readers to the thoroughness of the New Englanders' efforts to restrict trade with England, and gave the manufacturers of the mother country



a warning that the magnificent American trade to which much of England's prosperity was due, was on the wane.

*“Boston, New England, November 5th.* The following Address to the Ladies of North America, has appeared in our Gazette, and been well received.

“‘Ladies: I am one of those who think it not only high time but of the last importance, that you should be publickly addressed: and of the many ingenious pens, which in the course of a few years have informed and enlightened this country, I have often wished that at least some one of them had been more particularly devoted to your service. This would have agreeably prevented me in an attempt to which I find myself in all respects but too unequal. Yet relying on your good sense and candour, I venture to lay at your feet a few well intended sentiments, which though in a plain home-spun garb, I hope will not offend. I am convinced that at this present it is not only in your inclination and will, but also in your power, to effect more in favour of your country, than an army of an hundred thousand men; and indeed more than all the armed men on this vast continent. Can a woman forget her ornaments? Yes, I know she can. Deborah once judged Israel, and some think it was never judged much better after-

wards. But what thought Deborah or Jael of their ornaments, when the one was contriving, and the other driving the nail that would go? What thought beautiful Esther of her ornaments, when those of her kindred and household were in immediate and imminent danger, by the decree treacherously obtained by Haman, from the mouth of her beloved and almost adored Lord Ahasuerus the Great? What thought Judith of her ornaments, when she was severing the head of Holofernes from his body, or while flying with the prize to the relief of her despairing friends? The time would fail me, were I to recount the wondrous deeds and mighty achievements of renowned and honourable women in all ages.

“I have but alluded to a few instances, among many, of divine heroism in your sex, which hath often saved a country, when the dull plodding of man has been totally at a plunge. How near we are to such a crisis, is left to the conjecture of others. It would be a little out of nature to expect the birth and exploits of heroines to take place before those of heroes. I believe we shall be furnished with both in their order, as occasion may require. All I think at present that can be reasonably expected or desired of you, is to consent to lay aside all superfluous ornaments for a season—after which they shall be surely returned to you again with interest.—You shall

be cloathed in purple and scarlet, and fine linnen of our own, and with other glorious apparel; which, if possible, shall add a lustre to your charms.'”

Attempts were made to cultivate the tea plant in America, but without the success the patriotic efforts warranted, although a paragraph which appeared in the English press gravely informed its readers that “A gentleman at Boston has procured and furnished many persons with some of the genuine tea plants from the East Indies, which thrive and grow very well in these climates. The production of this article among us will be an immense saving to America. Many people are of the opinion that the country produces this plant simultaneously, and is plentifully stocked with it.”

The decision to abstain from trade with England meant the loss of many comforts and necessities of life in America, owing to the fact that England's Colonial Policy, almost from its inception, was formulated with the view of discouraging manufacturing in her colonies, and making them dependent upon Great Britain for all manufactured articles. After the passage of the Stamp Act, however, numerous factories were started in America for the purpose of supplying articles for domestic consumption, and, after the various Non-Importation Agreements

resulting from the "Acts of 1767" were enforced, the English newspapers fairly teemed with descriptions of the efforts made to manufacture goods in this country, the sale of which had hitherto enriched the manufacturers of Leeds, Manchester and Birmingham.

One question of supreme importance was the supply of clothing, and the English merchants were kept informed through the medium of their press of the founding of industries here for the manufacture of this necessity and also of the great attention being paid to the breeding of sheep. At the time of the Stamp Act, so pressing had this need become, that the disuse of sheep and lambs for food was advocated, their fleeces being indispensable to the running of these newly started woolen manufactories. Agreements such as the one here given (which appeared in the *London Chronicle* of March 29th—April 1st, 1766) were freely entered into in all parts of the country :

"*New York, February 13th.* The following agreement has been subscribed by a great number of the principal inhabitants of this city, and new subscribers are daily added.

"We the inhabitants of the city of New York do hereby engage and promise, that we will not buy or suffer to be bought for our use, any lamb before the first day of August next,

and that we will not buy any meat from any butcher, that shall expose any lamb to sale before the day aforesaid, and will give all manner of discountenance to such butchers for the future. Given under our hands at New York this 3rd of February, 1766.' ”

As fairly representative of the information which the Englishmen of the day received concerning the doings of the women and men of America in endeavouring to nullify the effect of the abhorrent “Acts of 1767,” an extract is appended which appeared in the *London Chronicle* of November 5th–8th, 1768 :

“*Boston, (New England,) October 6th.* We hear, there are above 200 families in this town that have agreed not to use any more tea. We also hear the inhabitants of Charles-Town have unanimously agreed to the same.

“We hear from Brookfield, that Mr. Joshua Upham of that town, a Gentleman of the Law, and his two brothers, with a number of other Gentlemen, have lately erected a building fifty feet in length, and two stories high, for a manufactory-house, and are collecting tradesmen of several sorts for the woollen manufactory, and they propose to keep a large number of looms constantly at work.

“We hear from Wilbraham, a part of Springfield, that a number of Gentlemen have agreed to-

gether to purchase 2000 sheep, to be pastured upon the plains there, under the care of a shepherd."

That the women of the Colonies enthusiastically and skillfully furnished the necessities, which had hitherto been obtained from the factories of England, may be inferred from the following two extracts from the *London Chronicle* under dates of December 15th-17th, 1768, and August 1st-3rd, 1769:

"*Boston, New England, October 26th.* We hear from Roxbury, that one day last week near 60 young women of that place met together at the Minister's House, early in the morning, and gave Mrs. Adams the materials for, and the spinning of, above one hundred score of linen yarn; such an unusual and beautiful appearance drew a great number of spectators from the town and country, who all expressed the highest satisfaction at such an example of industry."

"*Newport, Rhode Island, June 3rd.* There is in this town a sample of cloth, made by a young Lady here, which is equal in width, fineness, and goodness, to an English plain of 6s. sterling per yard; but cost, with every charge upon it, not quite 3s. 9d. sterling per yard.

"By the best calculation, there is more wool raised in this colony than would cloath the inhabitants; and there might easily be raised double that quantity in three years time."

The unanimity with which the men of Virginia had acted, in resenting the attacks made by Parliament upon the government of the Province of Massachusetts-Bay in 1769, has been described in a previous chapter. Equally strong in representing the temper of the people, must have appeared the scene described in the following letter published in the *London Chronicle* of April 17th-19th, 1770.

“*Extract of a Letter from Williamsburgh, (in Virginia) January 3.*

“On Wednesday evening the Honourable the Speaker, and Gentlemen of the House of Burgesses, gave a ball at the capitol for the entertainment of his Excellency Lord Botetourt; and the same patriotic spirit which gave rise to the association of the Gentlemen on a late event, was most agreeably manifested in the dress of the Ladies on this occasion, who to the number of near one hundred, appeared in homespun gowns; a lively and striking instance of their acquiescence and concurrence in whatever be the true and essential interest of their country. It is to be wished that all assemblies of American Ladies would exhibit a like example of public virtue and private œconomy, so amiably united.

Not all the gems that sparkle in the mine,  
Can make the Fair with so much lustre  
shine.’”

It is not difficult to picture the appearance of the great room of the House of Burgesses (a view of which building appears in the initial letter of Chapter V) on that festal winter evening, filled as it was with the fair women of Virginia, dressed in garments of home manufacture,—symbolic of their industry and patriotism,—and dancing in honour of a Governor, who, though loyal to his King, needed no such manifestation of the spirit of Virginia to enlist his sympathies in the cause of the people.

Two weeks before the publication of the letter describing this practical demonstration of the part the dames of Virginia were industriously playing in the prologue to the tragedy which precipitated the American Revolution, the *Lloyds Evening Post* had printed the following agreement, voted by the women of Boston in support of the action taken by the merchants of that town.

“*Boston, New England, January 31.* The following is a copy of the agreement of the Ladies in this town, against drinking tea, until the Revenue Acts are repealed:

“‘At a time when our invaluable rights and privileges are attack’d in an unconstitutional and most alarming manner, and as we find we were reproached for not being so ready as could be desired to lend our assistance, we think it our



duty perfectly to concur with the true friends of Liberty in all the measures they have taken to save this abused Country from ruin and slavery; and particularly, we join with the very respectable body of Merchants, and other inhabitants of this town, who met in Faneuil-Hall the 23d of this instant, in their resolutions totally to abstain from the use of Tea: And as the greatest part of the revenue arising by virtue of the late Acts is produced from the duty paid upon Tea, which revenue is wholly expended to support the American Board of Commissioners: We the Subscribers do strictly engage, that we will totally abstain from the use of that article (sickness excepted) not only in our respective families, but that we will absolutely refuse it, if it should be offered to us upon any occasion whatsoever.

“‘This agreement we cheerfully come into, as we believe the very distressed situation of our Country requires it, and we do hereby oblige ourselves religiously to observe it, till the late Revenue Acts are repealed.’

“To the above agreement, the Mistresses of their respective families (only) are come in, to the number of 300.

“Note, In the above number, the worthy Ladies of the highest rank and influence (that could be waited on in so short a time) are included.”

The spirit of the American women was measured not alone by their patriotic abstinence from tea-drinking, and in their example of frugality and industry in matters of dress, for under date of November 7th-9th, 1769, the newspaper so frequently quoted thus had noted the Colonial feminine interest in the politics of the time, and eagerness for knowledge of the constitutional questions in dispute in America.

*“ Extract of a Letter from a Gentleman at Boston in New-England, to his Friend in London dated August 17, 1769.—‘ The North Americans, though they have prohibited the importation of books have paid Mrs. Macaulay the compliment of allowing the free sale of her History of England in all the Colonies, and the Ladies of America in particular read her History with great avidity and speak of her with the greatest applause.’ ”*

The English author so highly complimented in the above paragraph was Mrs. Catharine Macaulay, the distinguished author of the “ History of England from the Accession of James the First to that of the Brunswick Line,” the first volume of which appeared in 1763 and met such an enthusiastic reception among the Whig partisans, that the London publishers competed strenuously for the right to bring out each succeeding part. Mrs. Macaulay was imbued with strong

republican principles and treated her subject in a manner diametrically opposed to the monarchical and Jacobinian theory which David Hume exploited in his "History of England from the Invasion of Julius Caesar to the Revolution in 1688," published shortly before. She at once became the idol of the Whig party and William Pitt delivered before the House of Commons a panegyric upon the manner in which she handled the constitutional questions involved. A quotation from the first volume of her history "Government, a Power Delegated for the Happiness of Mankind, conducted by Wisdom, Justice and Mercy" became a popular toast, and her portrait along with that of John Dickinson, the author of the "Farmer's Letters," embellished an *ALMANACK for the year of our LORD CHRIST 1772*, published in Boston by Nathaniel Ames. In connection with this association of these two personages by a Boston publisher, it is interesting to note that six years later, William Duesbury, England's greatest manufacturer of porcelain, put upon the English market an exquisitely modelled porcelain statuette of Mrs. Macaulay which pictured her leaning on a pedestal, upon the sides of which appear, along with the names of *Sidney, Locke, Hampden*, etc., that of our own *Dickinson*, and the words *American Congress*, so associated was

Mrs. Macaulay with the fight for constitutional liberty then waging in the English colonies.

It must not be inferred that throughout the eight long years which preceded the American Revolution, during which time tea was an object of special taxation, this exotic beverage was unknown in the dining room of the patriotic colonial household, for the long coast line and inefficient custom service allowed the importation from Holland of thousands of chests of tea, which paid no tribute to the royal exchequer.

However, after the destruction of the tea in Boston had brought to an issue the prolonged controversy between the Ministry and the people of Massachusetts Bay, tea became the recognized symbol of tyranny, and its disuse general. The following quaint series of resolutions which appeared in the *London Chronicle* of March 29th—31st, 1774, as emanating from the ladies of Boston, told its readers of the approbation the “Boston Tea Party” met with among the fair sex of that town :

“*To the PRINTER of the LONDON CHRONICLE.*

“SIR :

“The following appeared in the Massachusetts Gazette of Jan. 31, perhaps it may amuse many of your Readers, as it did,

Your’s &c.

G——.

“ We hear that a number of the fair Daughters of Liberty have lately entered into the following spirited RESOLVES :

I. That the Destruction of the East-India Tea, imported among us, is absolutely necessary for the Happiness of America.

II. That the said Tea ought to be looked upon as a Traitor to the MAJESTY of the PEOPLE, and treated accordingly.

III. That all the Aiders, Abettors, Associates and Accomplices, of said Tea, are equally guilty of High Treason.

IV. That for the Credit of the noble Cause we are engaged in, all our Proceedings, at this alarming Crisis, shall be strictly conformable to Law.

V. That as hanging, drawing and quartering, are the Punishments inflicted by Law in Cases of High-Treason, we are determined, constantly to assemble at each other's Houses, to HANG the Tea-Kettle, DRAW the Tea, and QUARTER the Toast.”

Three weeks previous to the appearance of the above letter, the London *Daily Advertiser* had noted in the following extract, that American women were not content, in this crisis of their country's history, with the mere passage of self-denying resolutions against the use of tea, but were also, in ways of their own devising,

actively assisting in carrying out the measures so widely adopted :

“*Newport, Rhode-Island, January 10th.* Last Wednesday 57 Ladies, of Bedford, in Dartmouth, had a Meeting, at which they entered into an Agreement not to use any more India Tea: And having heard that a Gentleman there had lately bought some, they requested he would immediately return the same, which he complied with, upon which the Ladies treated him with a Glass of this Country Wine, and dismissed him, highly pleased with their exemplary Conduct, for which a Number of Gentlemen present gave him three Cheers in Approbation of his noble Behaviour.”

A loyalist's impressions of the influence exerted by American women in swelling the ranks of the companies of minute-men then forming, and the method of moral suasion they used, was cited in the *Middlesex Journal* of November 22nd–24th, 1774, in an amusing “*Extract from a letter from Boston Dated October 25th.* ‘Our country, it is true, wears a very military appearance, and between ourselves, that is the only serious air either party wishes to put on. For our parts, the Americans would certainly have abandoned the cause long ago and bowed to the yoke, but that a certain epidemical kind of phrenzy runs through our fair country women, which outdoes all the pretended patriotic virtue

of the more robustic males :—these little mischief making devils have entered into an almost unanimous association *that any man who shall basely and cowardly give up the public cause of freedom, shall from that moment be discarded [from] their assemblies, and no future contrition shall be able to atone for the crime.* This has had a wonderful effect, and not a little served to increase the provincial forces.’ ”

The above citations from the English press of the frugality, industry and cheerful abstinence from many of the comforts of life displayed by the women of the American Colonies have been quoted to demonstrate that the political activities of the Colonial women were well known to the public on whom our cartoonist depended for a market for the sale of his prints. The especial incident, the action of “A SOCIETY OF PATRIOTIC LADIES AT EDENTON in NORTH CAROLINA,” which he had selected as being typical of the attitude of the women in the Colonies, was described in several of the London papers about the middle of January, 1775. The account contained in the *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser* of January 16th, 1775, has been selected for reprinting, as this paper alone allotted space in its columns to the lengthy list of signatures attached to the resolutions passed at this meeting.

The Province of North Carolina had not lagged behind the other Colonies in assertion of her rights. At the time of the Stamp Act her Assembly sent a protest to the King "against what we esteem our inherent right and exclusive privilege of imposing our own taxes." The bearers of the stamps from England to this Colony met with no kind reception.

North Carolina was unrepresented in the New York Congress in 1764, owing to the astuteness of Governor Tryon, who, acting in the interest of his Sovereign, abruptly dissolved the Assembly, before duly accredited representatives therefrom could be chosen to attend the proposed Congress. With the same grasp of the situation, Governor Tryon failed to call the representatives together again until after the Stamp Act had been repealed. The protracted trouble with the Regulators in this province, about which so much has been written, was in reality a lawless uprising of the people in the upper counties, and was largely due to the distress caused by the great financial depression then prevailing throughout America. The fact that its suppression was due to a volunteer body of militia, most of whom, both officers and men, fought against the King in the War of the American Revolution, deprives this affair of the political importance almost universally attributed to it.



In 1773, however, the Assembly of North Carolina joined the other Colonial Assemblies in choosing a Committee of Correspondence, and in August, 1774, the Provincial Congress of this Colony, called in defiance of the Governor, met at Newberne, under the very shadow of the Governor's Palace, an engraving of which embellishes the tail piece at the end of Chapter III. The Deputies first elected Samuel Johnston, of Edenton, their President, and then passed a series of resolutions similar in purport to those which had just been voted at Williamsburg by the Delegates of their Northern neighbours.

The following extract from the *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser* tells of the Association formed by the women of Edenton, in their endeavours to assist in carrying out the resolutions taken by the men of North Carolina, and furnished the cartoonist with the subject for his illustration, a reproduction of which appears upon page 317:

*“Extract of a Letter from North Carolina, Oct. 27.—‘The provincial deputies of North Carolina, having resolved not to drink any more tea, nor wear any more British cloth, &c. many ladies of this province have determined to give a memorable proof of their patriotism, and have accordingly entered into the following honourable and spirited association. I send it to you to*

## THE BOSTON PORT BILL

shew your fair countrywomen, how zealously and faithfully American ladies follow the laudable example of their husbands, and what opposition your *matchless* ministers may expect to receive from a people, thus firmly united against them:—

“‘ Edenton, North Carolina, Oct. 25.

“‘ As we cannot be indifferent on any occasion that appears nearly to affect the peace and happiness of our country, and as it has been thought necessary, for the public good, to enter into several particular resolves by a meeting of members deputed from the whole Province, it is a duty which we owe, not only to our near and dear connections, who have concurred in them, but to ourselves, who are essentially interested in their welfare, to do everything as far as lies in our power, to testify our sincere adherence to the same; and we do therefore accordingly subscribe this paper, as a witness of our fixed intention and solemn determination to do so.

Abigail Charlton  
F. Johnstone  
Margaret Cathcart  
Anne Johnstone  
Margaret Pearson  
Penelope Dawson  
Jean Blair

Mary Blount  
Elizabeth Creacy  
Elizabeth Patterson  
Jane Wellwood  
Mary Woolard  
Sarah Beasley  
Susannah Vail

# POLITICAL ACTIVITIES OF COLONIAL WOMEN

Grace Clayton	Elizabeth Vail
Frances Hall	Elizabeth Vail
Mary Jones	Mary Creacy
Anne Hall	Mary Creacy
Rebecca Bondfield	Ruth Benbury
Sarah Littlejohn	Sarah Howcott
Penelope Barker	Sarah Hoskins
Elizabeth P. Ormond	Mary Littledle
M. Payne	Sarah Vallentine
Elizabeth Johnston	Elizabeth Crickett
Mary Bonner	Elizabeth Green
Lydia Bonner	Mary Ramsey
Sarah Howe	Anne Horniblow
Lydia Bennet	Mary Hunter
Marion Wells	Tresia Cunningham
Anne Anderson	Elizabeth Roberts
Sarah Mathews	Elizabeth Roberts
Anne Haughton	Elizabeth Roberts' "
Elizabeth Bearsley	

The town of Edenton, where this incident took place, is delightfully situated on an arm of Albemarle Sound. Its majestic church, stately court-house, and numerous beautiful dwellings (an interesting example of which appears in the initial letter at the head of this chapter) erected prior to the Revolution and still in existence, testify to its flourishing condition at that time. The town's prosperity was largely derived

from its fisheries and commerce with the West Indian Islands.

Our cartoonist has pictured in the closing cartoon of the series, a living room of a colonial home, filled with women both of high and lowly station, matrons and maidens, all clothed in garments the materials of which bore no trace of having emanated from the looms of Manchester or Birmingham. Upon the table in the centre of the gathering, rests a large sheet of paper, upon which has been inscribed the following paraphrase of the resolutions above quoted :

*" We the Ladys of Edenton do hereby Solemnly Engage not to Conform to that Pernicious Custom of Drinking Tea, or that we the aforesaid Ladys will not promote y<sup>e</sup> wear of any Manufacture from England untill such time that all Acts which tend to Enslave this our Native Country shall be Repealed."*

The length of the original resolutions prevented their embodiment in the picture, yet the substitute in no way weakened the force of the argument told in this cartoon, for the quaint Anglo-Saxon wording found therein may have delicately reminded the reader that the above agreement was entered into by women of English descent, who, though now living across the ocean, were entitled to the privileges enjoyed by all who remained at home.



A SOCIETY of PATRIOTIC LADIES,  
AT  
EDENTON in NORTH CAROLINA.

Plate V.

London Printed for R. Sowerby & T. Berridge, in Pall Mall, on the 21st Month 15 March 1775.



A touch of humour was injected into the scene, by the introduction of a young gallant, unabashedly carrying on his courtship undisturbed by the earnestness of the occasion. Tranquillity and harmony are suggested by the child quietly playing upon the floor. The sorrowing countenance of the aged woman sipping her last and lengthy draught of tea from a bowl prior to affixing her signature to the aforesaid agreement shows our artist's recognition of the self denial practised by abstaining from this greatly esteemed beverage. The scene at the doorway was unmistakably suggested to the designer by the closing portion of the following article which had appeared in the *London Chronicle* of January 5th-7th, 1775, under the heading of:

“*Charles Town, November 6.* A few days ago arrived the *Britannia*, Ball, from London. Notice having been received, that he had six chests of tea on board, near a thousand people were assembled on the wharf. They had prepared a scaffold two feet high to run on wheels; had placed the Pope, Lord —, and the Pretender, in order to burn the tea; but as soon as the tea was brought upon deck, the owners were ready with hatchets, and chopped the chests to pieces, and threw the tea overboard. The people then drew the scaffold about the town; and when it became dark, there was computed to be 2500 men,

with each a candle in his hand, who retired to the out-parts of the town, where they set fire to the scaffold ; in the meantime, some of them took the Pope's cap, and went round to the Ladies in the town, who emptied the tea out of their cannisters into the cap ; they then burnt Lord ——, the Pope, and Pretender, with the cap full of tea, all together."

The scene described in the first part of this extract was not a novel one to the readers of the English press, for several letters had recently appeared in the London newspapers, which told of occurrences of a like nature in the towns and cities of the Northern Colonies, where the inhabitants had in similar manner vented their spleen against Lord North, the author of the Boston Port Bill, the Pope, the reputed beneficiary of the Quebec Bill, and Lord Bute, who was popularly known among his Whig opponents as the " Pretender."

No attempt has been made herein to tell the full part played by our Colonial women during the trying years which preceded our Nation's birth, but merely such portions of it as had been wafted to England and there exploited in the press. The devotion of the women to the cause the men of the Colonies were endeavouring to uphold and their abandoned tea-tables (see page 322) were fittingly described in the following lines which



appeared in nearly all the Colonial newspapers under the heading of :

A LADY'S ADIEU TO HER TEA-TABLE

FAREWELL the Tea-board with your gaudy attire,  
 Ye cups and ye saucers that I did admire ;  
 To my cream pot and tongs I now bid adieu,  
 That pleasure's all fled that I once found in you.  
 Farewell pretty chest that so lately did shine,  
 With hyson and congo and best double fine ;  
 Many a sweet moment by you I have sat,  
 Hearing girls and old maids to tattle and chat ;  
 And the spruce coxcomb laugh at nothing at all,  
 Only some silly word that might happen to fall.  
 No more shall my teapot so generous be  
 In filling the cups with this pernicious tea,  
 For I'll fill it with water and drink out the same,  
 Before I'll lose LIBERTY that dearest name,  
 Because I am taught (and believe it is fact)  
 That our ruin is aimed at in a late act,  
 Of imposing a duty on all foreign Teas,  
 Which detestable stuff we can quit when we  
 please.

LIBERTY's the Goddess that I do adore,  
 And I'll maintain her right until my last hour,  
 Before she shall part I will die in the cause,  
 For I'll never be govern'd by tyranny's laws.

No more fitting subject with which to end

## THE BOSTON PORT BILL

this series of cartoons illustrating the attitude of the people of the Colonies in the year 1774, could have been selected, than the one described in this, our closing chapter. The display of enthusiasm and cheerful assistance in carrying out measures devised in behalf of the common weal, and the sacrifices and hardships thereby necessitated, were then, as now, typical of American womanhood, and furnished the inspiration which enabled their husbands and fathers, despite almost insurmountable obstacles, to establish the nation whose history we hold so dear.



## INDEX

—



## INDEX

- Acts of 1767, 52, 53, 68, 69, 232, 293, 300.  
 Adams, Samuel (1722-1803), 7.  
 Adams, Thomas, Letter from Richard Bland, 243-245.  
 "Address to the Inhabitants of the Colonies," by Continental Congress, 269.  
 "Address to the People of Great Britain," by Continental Congress, 269.  
 All, Captain, of Philadelphia, 197.  
 "Almanack for the year of our Lord Christ, 1772," 307.  
 "The Alternative of Williams-Burg," cartoon, 276-281.  
 American Board of Commissioners, 305.  
 Ames, Nathaniel, printer, 307.  
 Amherst, Jeffrey, Baron Amherst (1717-1797), Governor of Virginia, 238.  
 Andrews, Alexander, author of "The History of British Journalism," xiii.  
 Anne, Queen of England (1665-1714), 210-211.  
 Assemblies, Colonial.  
     *See* Colonial Assemblies.  
 Ball, Captain, of the "Britannia," 319.  
 Ballad of "The Boston Bill," 152-154.  
 Barclay Street (New York), 217.  
 Barré, Isaac (1726-1802).  
     Opposition to Stamp Act, 11.  
     Characterizes Americans as "Sons of Liberty," 15-16.  
     Portrait displayed, 40.  
     Characterization of John Dickinson, 55.  
     Denounces Port Bill, 135-136.  
     Alluded to in ballad "The Boston Bill," 153.  
 Beckford, William (1709-1770), xxii.  
 Bennett, J.  
     *See* Sayer, Messrs. Robert and Bennett, J., publishers and printsellers.  
 Berdt, Dennis de, Colonial agent in London, 56.  
 Bernard, Sir Francis (1711?-1779), Governor of Massachusetts Bay, 59.  
 Bickerstaff's Boston Almanack, 112.  
 Bill of Rights, 107, 113.  
 Bill of Rights, Society of Supporters of the, 108, 109, 154.  
 Birmingham (England), 8, 300, 316.  
 Bishops, Bench of, 147-148.  
 Bland, Richard, of Virginia (1710-1778), 243-245.  
 Blagge, John, of New York, 220, 222.  
 Boston.  
     Town Meeting, May, 1764, 7.  
     Economics practiced, 8-10.  
     "Fourteenth of August," 1765, 14.  
     Governor's request for garrison granted, and indignation thereat, 59-61.  
     Convention in Faneuil Hall, Sept. 22, 1768, 60.  
     Non-Importation Resolutions and Agreements, 61.  
     Return of importations, 62.  
     "Fourteenth of August" celebration, 69.  
     Prominence of city in English press, 69.  
     Tea ships sent to, 70.  
     "The Tea Party," 72-77, 193.  
     English verdict upon destruction of tea, 125.  
     Punishment and indignation thereat, 125-176.  
     Meeting of delegates from nine towns, 159.  
     Port Bill denounced in Town meeting, 159.  
     Appeals to sister Colonies, 159-160.  
     Assembly prorogued to meet at Salem, 167.  
     Indignities put upon citizens described in letter, 168-170.  
     Cartoon, "The Bostonians in Distress," 173-176.

## THE BOSTON PORT BILL

### Boston.—(Continued.)

- New York's approval of attitude toward Tea resolutions, 195.
- Protests against injustice to Boston, 203.
- Letter of sympathy from Sons of Liberty, New York, 205.
- Williamsburg Convention resolves to send aid, 268.
- Two hundred families agree not to use tea, 301.
- Agreement of ladies against tea-drinking, 304-305.
- Letters from, 306, 310-311.
- "The Boston Bill," a ballad, 152-154.
- "Boston Massacre," Mar. 5, 1770, 68, 105, 131.
- Boston Port Bill.
  - Unites Colonies against British Ministry, xvi-xix.
  - Great Britain's policy previous to, xxi.
  - Presented to House of Commons by Lord North, Mar. 4, 1774, 125.
  - Title and abstract, 126-130.
  - Petition against Bill by Americans in London, 130-132.
  - Debate upon, in House of Commons, 132-136.
  - Passes House of Commons, 136.
  - Passes House of Lords, 137.
  - Public protests expressed in Press, 137-142.
  - Object of Bill, 143.
  - Attitude of Colonies, 150-151.
  - Ballad "The Boston Bill," 152-154.
  - News of passage of Act reaches Boston, 159-161.
  - Act put into effect, 162.
  - Suffering caused and sympathy aroused, 163-170.
  - Reception of news of passage of Bill in New York, 204.
  - New York meeting declares Bill unconstitutional, 209.
  - Reception of news in Virginia, and action of House of Burgesses, 249-260.
- Boston State House (Boston), xxviii, 7.
- Boston Tea Party, 72-77, 308.
- "The Bostonians in Distress," cartoon, 173-176.
- "The Bostonian's Paying the Excise-Man," 82-87.
- Botetourt, Norborne Berkeley, Baron de (1717?-1770), Governor of Virginia.
  - Difficulties of position, 233.
  - Lord Hillsborough's letter, 234-235.

### Botetourt.—(Continued.)

- Address to House of Burgesses, 235, 236.
- His characteristics, 237-241.
- His death, 241-243.
- Statue erected to, xxix, xxx, 243-248.
- Statue represented in cartoon, 280.
- Bowles, Carington, publisher and print-seller, xx, 93, 121.
- Bowles, John, publisher and print-seller, xvi, xx, 156.
- "Britannia," tea ship, 319.
- "Britannia in the Act of Self-destruction," cartoon, 17-18.
- The Briton*, edited by Tobias Smollett, 97.
- Brookfield (Massachusetts), 301.
- Broome, Samuel, of New York, 221, 222.
- Bruton Parish Church (Williamsburg), xxx, 254, 285.
- Buckinghamshire (England), 96.
- Bunyan, John (1628-1688), xvi.
- Bute, John Stuart, third Earl of (1713-1792).
  - Burned in effigy, 14, 42.
  - Caricatured, 46.
  - Toast to, 90.
  - Becomes Prime Minister, 97.
  - Resigns, 98.
  - Relations to King's mother, 102.
  - Jacobite influence, 147.
  - Curse upon, 150.
  - Known as the "Pretender," 320.
- Camden, Sir Charles Pratt, first earl (1714-1794).
  - Opposition to Stamp Act, 11.
  - Celebration portrait, 40.
  - Combats passage of Port Bill, 136.
  - Opposes religious clauses of Quebec boundary bill, 147, 148.
- Canada, 4, 296.
- Caricatures.
  - See Cartoons.
- Carlisle, Bishop of, 103.
- Caroline, Queen of George II (1683-1737), 142.
- Canterbury (England), 90.
- Carpenters Hall (Philadelphia), xxix, 269.
- Cartoons.
  - Evince the unpopularity of the Administration, xiv-xv.
  - "Humourous mezzotints," xv, xix.
  - "Posture mezzotints," xvi.
  - "Miss Macaroni and her Gallant at a Print-shop," xvi.
  - Series of five issued by Sayer and Bennett, xix, 82.

## INDEX

### Cartoons.—(Continued).

- "Britannia in the Act of Self-destruction," 17, 18.
- "The Wise Men of Gotham and their Goose," published by W. Humphrey, 42-48.
- "The Bostonians Paying the Excise-Man, or Tarring and Feathering," Plate I of a series issued by Sayer and Bennett, 82-87.
- "A New Method of Macaroni Making, as practised at Boston," published by Carington Bowles, 93.
- "A Political Lesson," published by John Bowles, 156-159.
- "The Bostonians in Distress," Plate II of series issued by Sayer and Bennett, 173-176.
- "The Patriotic Barber of New York, or the Captain in the Suds," Plate III of series issued by Sayer and Bennett, 179-183, 214-218.
- "The Alternative of Williams-Burg," Plate IV of series issued by Sayer and Bennett, 276-281.
- "A Society of Patriotic Ladies, At Edenton in North Carolina," Plate V of series issued by Sayer and Bennett, 316-319.
- "Cassius," Printed advertisement signed, 190-192.
- "Catullus, Poems of," 96.
- Chamber of Commerce (New York), 222.
- Chambers, Captain, of the "London," 197-203.
- Charles I (1600-1649), 108, 290.
- Charles II (1630-1685), 226.
- Charleston (South Carolina), 70.
- Charlestown (Massachusetts), 169, 301, 319.
- Charlotte Sophia, Queen of George III (1744-1818), 40.
- Chatham, William Pitt, earl of.  
See Pitt, William, first earl of Chatham.
- Charters, Colonial, 27.  
See also under names of Colonies.
- Chelsea-Derby statuettes.  
Pitt, xxviii, 33.  
Wilkes, xxviii, 107.  
Mrs. Macaulay, 307.
- Church of England.  
In New York, 184.  
In Virginia, 225.  
Foreshadowing of Disestablishment, 280.
- Church of Rome.  
See Quebec Act ; Pope (Pius V).

### Circular Letters.

- Of Massachusetts Bay Assembly, 57-59.
- Of Boston Town Committee, 162-163.
- City Hall Park (New York), 184.
- Civil List, 6.
- Coffin, Captain, 35.
- Colonial Assemblies.  
Salaries fixed by, 6.
- Remonstrances against Stamp Act, 7.
- Addresses to King after Repeal of Stamp Act, 41.
- Claims of exemption from taxation denied by Parliament, 52.
- Protests against Act of 1767, 56.
- North Carolina Assembly joins, 313.
- See also under Connecticut, Maryland, Massachusetts - Bay, New York, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Virginia
- Colonial Congress, New York.  
Protests against Stamp Act, 27, 183.
- North Carolina not represented at, 312.
- Colonial Congress, Philadelphia.  
Rumored in England, 156.
- Delegates appointed at Salem, 167.
- Colonies.  
English knowledge of, displayed in cartoons, xx-xxi, 86.
- English commerce, 4-5.
- Fiscal Policy, 6.
- Financial depression, 8-11.
- Manufactures, 9-11, 86, 265, 274, 299-301.
- Arousal realized in England, 16-17.
- Parliament's assertion of right to control, 52.
- Prevailing distrust of Parliament, 53.
- Acclaim vote of "92", 58.
- Enraged at troops in Boston, 61.
- Non-importation Resolutions and Agreements, 62.
- Revival of old relations, 68.
- Refuse to receive tea from England, 70.
- Parallel between Colonists and electors of England, 107.
- Quebec Bill and its effects, 146-152.
- Congress rumored in England, 156.
- Boston's appeal to, after Port Bill, 159-160.
- Boston upheld, 160-162.
- New York's trade diverted to Colonies where Non-Importation Agreements were lightly observed, 205.
- Effect of Virginia's challenge to Parliament, 228.

## THE BOSTON PORT BILL

- Colonies.—(*Continued.*)  
 Continental Congress, 269-271.  
 Symbol of "living snake," xxix, 270-271.  
 "Colonies, Address to the Inhabitants of the," from Continental Congress, 269.  
 Commerce.  
   Colonial, xiii, 4-5, 128, 254, 263.  
   English, xiii, 5, 8, 51-52, 134, 253.  
 Commerce, Chamber of (New York), 222.  
 Committee of Fifty-one, 205.  
 Committee of One Hundred, New York, 219, 220, 221.  
 Committee of Inspection against Non-Importation, 221.  
 Committee of Mechanics, New York, 210.  
 Committees of Correspondence, 248, 254, 266, 313.  
   Boston, 193, 254.  
   Massachusetts, 174, 249.  
   New York, 204, 209, 210.  
   Virginia, 254, 266.  
 Concord, Battle of, April 19, 1775, xiv, 42.  
 Congress.  
   *See* Colonial Congress, New York ;  
   Colonial Congress, Philadelphia ;  
   Continental Congress, Philadelphia.  
 Connecticut, 61, 146.  
 Connecticut, Assembly of, 7.  
 Constitutional Government, xi.  
 Constitutional Society, xiii.  
 Continental Congress, Philadelphia.  
   Massachusetts delegates appointed at Salem, 167.  
   Richard Bland, representative from Virginia, 243.  
   House of Burgesses of Virginia recommends formation, 253.  
   Williamsburg Resolution concerning, 268.  
   First meeting, Sept. 5, 1774, 269-271.  
 Conway, Henry Seymour (1721-1795).  
   Opposition to Stamp Act, 11.  
   Portrait, 40.  
   Supports Meredith, 228.  
 Cornbury, Edward Hyde, Lord (d. 1723), Governor of New York, 211.  
 Cornwall (England), xii.  
 Courts of Justice, Colonial, 143, 272.  
 Crook, Justice, 292.  
 Crozer, John, Captain of the "Empress of Russia," 214.  
 Cruger, John (1710?-1792?), 30, 188-189.  
 Customs officers, 56, 69, 128.  
   *See also* Malcolm, John.  
*Daily Advertiser*, London, 309-310.  
 "Dartmouth," tea ship, 73, 76.  
 Dawe, Phillip (fl. 1765-1801), mezzotint engraver, xv, xix, xx.  
 Declaration of Independence, 269.  
 "Declaration of Rights," by Continental Congress, 269.  
 Dempster, George (1752-1818), 134-135.  
 "A Dialogue between a North American and a Courtier," signed "Marcus Aurelius," 13-14.  
 Dickinson, John (1732-1808), author of the "Farmer's Letters" 55, 307.  
 Dickinson, William (1746-1823), mezzotint engraver, xv.  
 Dighton, Robert (1752?-1814), xv.  
 Dixon, John (1740?-1780?), mezzotint engraver, xv, 156.  
 Dress, Economy in, 9-11, 297-303.  
 Duesbury, William (1725-1786), china manufacturer.  
   Statuette of Pitt, xxviii, 33.  
   Of Wilkes, xxviii, 107.  
   Of Mrs. Macaulay, 307.  
 Dunmore, John Murray, fourth Earl of (1732-1809), Governor of Virginia, 248, 250, 271.  
 Duties.  
   Act of 1764, 3, 59.  
   Acts of 1767, 52, 53, 69.  
   *See also* Stamp Act; Tea.  
 Earlom, Richard (1743-1822), mezzotint engraver, xv.  
 East India Company.  
   *See* Tea.  
 Edenton (North Carolina), xxx, 313, 315-316.  
 Edenton (North Carolina), A Society of Patriotic Ladies at, xxx, 293, 311, 313-316.  
 Edinburgh (Scotland), 131, 141.  
 English Army in America.  
   Cost of maintaining, 4.  
   Objections of Colonies to maintenance, 57, 61.  
   Troops in Faneuil Hall, 61  
   Bill for quartering troops, 145.  
   Maintenance of, and desertions from, 180.  
 English Church.  
   *See* Church of England.  
 English Ministry.  
   *See* Ministry, English.  
 English Navy, 292.  
 Epigram on Quebec Bill, 148.  
 "Essay on Woman," 102-103.  
 Excise Men, 90.  
   *See also* Malcolm, John; Customs Officers.



# INDEX

- Fables addressed to the Earl of Hillsborough, 64-66.
- Fairfax County (Virginia).  
Convention, 258.  
Resolution regarding slave trade, 259-260, 264.
- Faneuil Hall (Boston), xxviii.  
Meeting of Selectmen, 35.  
Convention, Sept. 22, 1768, 60.  
Troops quartered in, 61.  
Meeting of delegates after passage of Port Bill, 159.  
Committee on donations meet there, 164.  
Meeting to resolve against use of tea, 305.
- "Farmer's Letters," by John Dickinson, 54-56, 115, 307.
- Farmington (Connecticut), 161.
- Fielding, Henry (1707-1754), xv.
- Fox, Charles James (1749-1806), 135.
- Francis, Samuel, proprietor of "Fraunces Tavern," 201.
- France, 295.
- Franklin, Benjamin (1706-1790).  
Articles contributed to British Press, xxii-xxiii.  
Letters to Charles Thomson, 22-25.  
Portrait by Wedgwood, xxviii, 25.  
His "Candles" of industry referred to, 293.
- Franklin, Walter (Welle) (d. 1780), of New York, 221.
- Frederick the Great, 97.
- French and Indian War (1756-1763), 4.
- French East-India Company, 295.
- French interest in controversy, 18, 21.
- Gage, Thomas (1721-1787), General.  
Terrific fall, 156-159.  
Arrival at Boston as Governor, 160.  
Meets with Assembly at Salem, 167.  
Protests against Town meetings, 168.  
Statement to Lord North, 205.  
His order to New York, 212.  
Letter from Continental Congress, 269.
- Gaspé Affair, 248.
- Gazetteer*, London, 119.
- General Warrants, 99, 106, 113.
- George III (1738-1820).  
Supremacy, xi-xii.  
Portrait, xxvi, 40.  
Equestrian statue, 29-30, 32-33.  
Cartooned, 46, 47.  
Delight at Acts of 1767, 52.  
Petitions to, 56, 57.  
Parliament assures its support against Massachusetts-Bay, 62.
- George III.—(*Continued*).  
Struggle with Wilkes, 63, 99-101.  
His henchmen in Parliament, 67.  
Jealousy of Pitt, elevation of Bute, 96-97.  
Speech, 98.  
Assents to Port Bill 137.  
Reception in London after Quebec Act, 149-150.  
Loyalty to, in England and America, 151.  
Botetourt influences Virginia in his favor, 233-237.
- Georgia, 269.
- Gloucester, Duke of, 149.
- Glynn, John, of London (1722-1779), 100, 112, 155-156.
- Great Britain.  
Knowledge of Colonies in, xx-xxi.  
Policy of Colonial oppression, 3.  
Fiscal Policy, 6.  
Gravity of situation, 25-26.  
Loss of American trade, 27.  
Prosperity dependent upon Colonies, 52, 262.  
Feeling of hostility against, revived, 55-56.  
Trade with Colonies, 128-129, 134.  
Earnestness in issue, 133-134.  
Loyalty to, in the Colonies, 173.  
Williamsburg Resolution regarding exports to, 265, 267.  
Colonial policy, 299.  
*See also* House of Commons; House of Lords; Parliament; Vice-Admiralty Courts; King's Bench Court.
- Grenville, George (1712-1770).  
Burned in effigy, 42.  
Originator of Acts of 1767, 52.  
Prime Minister, 98.  
Letters from Bishop of Carlisle, 103.
- Grenville, afterwards Grenville-Temple, Richard Temple, Earl Temple.  
*See* Temple, Earl (Richard Grenville Temple).
- Griffiths, Anthony, of New York, 212, 219, 222.
- Gwatkin, Rev. Mr., of Virginia, 280.
- Habeas Corpus, 147.
- Hall of Records (New York), 219.
- Hampden, John (1594-1643), 292, 307.
- Hampton (Virginia), 231.
- Hancock, John (1737-1793), 38.
- Hayward, Richard, sculptor, 245.
- Hemp and flax, 9-10.
- Hempstead (Long Island), 10-11.
- Henley, Rev. Mr., of Virginia, 280.

## THE BOSTON PORT BILL

- Henry, Patrick (1736-1799), 231, 279.  
 Hewit, Rev. Mr., of Virginia, 280.  
 Hillsborough, Wills Hill, second Viscount (1718-1739).  
     Secretary of State to the Colonies, 58.  
     Fables addressed to him, 64-66.  
     Letter to Lord Botetourt, 234-235.  
     Complimentary allusion to, 239.  
 "The History of British Journalism," by Alexander Andrews, xiii.  
 "History of England from the Accession of James the First to that of the Brunswick Line," 306-307.  
 "History of England from the Invasion of Julius Caesar to the Revolution in 1688," 307.  
 Hogarth, William (1697-1764), painter and engraver, xix, xx.  
 Holland, 22, 308.  
 Homespun, 86, 303.  
 Horn, medal of town of, 1587, 26.  
 Horne, John.  
     *See* Tooke, John Horne.  
 House of Commons.  
     Popular representation a misnomer, xii.  
     Number of votes in favor of Repeal of Stamp Act, 41.  
     Resolution concerning *North Briton No. 45*, 101.  
     Wilkes summoned for trial, 105.  
     Action in Wilkes-Luttrell election, 106.  
     Newspapers begin to publish substances of debates, 119.  
     Port Bill presented by Lord North, 125-126.  
     Sentiment about punishment of Bostonians divided, 132.  
     Passage of Port Bill, 136.  
     Bills aimed at Massachusetts Bay, 142-152.  
     Failure to secure repeal of duty on tea, 146.  
     Virginia protests against violation of established rights, 227-228.  
     Governor Dunmore's Letter, 271-275.  
     Women sympathizers with Colonies refused admittance, 286-287.  
     Pitts' appreciation of Mrs. Macaulay, 307.  
 House of Lords.  
     Attack on Wilkes, 102.  
     Passage of Port Bill, 137.  
     Division over Port Bill, 148.  
 Houston, Richard (1721?-1775), mezzotint engraver, xv.  
 Hume, David (1711-1776), 307.  
 Humphrey, William (1740?-1810?), mezzotint engraver and printseller, xv, xx, 42.  
 Hutchinson, Thomas (1711-1780), Governor of Massachusetts, 72, 76, 160, 203.  
 Hyperion or Labrador tea, 295-296.  
 Illinois, 146.  
 Indian Nabobs, xv-xvi.  
 Indiana, 146.  
 Jacobite influence in Cabinet, 147.  
 Jacobite Rebellion, 1745, 97.  
 James I (1566-1625), 229.  
 James II (1633-1701), 108, 150.  
 "Jemmy Twitcher," soubriquet of Earl of Sandwich, 102.  
 Johnston, Samuel, of Edenton, 1733-1816, 313.  
 Judges, Bench of, 292.  
 "Junius," xii.  
 Jury, 143.  
     Trial by, 6.  
     Right of, attacked, 62.  
     Effect of Quebec Bill, 146.  
     In Virginia, 232.  
 Kelly, Mr., of England, formerly of New York, 191.  
*Kentish Gazette*, 90, 121, 138-140, 145-146, 147-149, 213-214.  
 King's Bench, Court of, 104.  
 Labrador tea, or Hyperion, 295-296.  
 "A Lady's Adieu To Her Tea-Table," a poem, 321.  
 Lamb, Charles (1775-1834), xx.  
 Lamb, John, of New York, 1735-1800, 193, 212, 218, 222.  
 Lawrence, Captain, 199.  
 Lee, Richard Henry, of Virginia (1732-1794), 280.  
 Leeds (England), 8, 300.  
 "Letters to the Inhabitants of the Province of Quebec," from Continental Congress, 269.  
 Lexington, Battle of, April 19, 1775, xiv, 42, 220.  
 Liberty of the Press, 98, 119.  
 Liberty Pole.  
     Farmington, 161-162.  
     New York, 184, 187-189.  
 Liberty Tree, Boston, 73, 86, 87, 173, 175.  
 "List of Grievances," issued by Continental Congress, 269.  
 Liverpool (England), 8.  
 Livingston, Abraham, of New York, 220, 222.  
*Lloyd's Evening Post*, 26, 304.

# INDEX

- Lockyer, Captain, of tea ship "Nancy," 196-203.
- London Chronicle*, xxii, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 16, 21, 26, 28, 29, 34, 35, 61, 62, 63, 64, 66, 89, 93, 109, 113, 114, 137, 141, 151, 155, 190, 196, 228, 233, 255, 275, 281, 286, 287, 293, 294, 295, 301, 302, 303, 306, 308, 319.
- London Evening Post*, 120, 180-183, 206.
- London Public Advertiser*, xxii, xxiii.
- "London," tea ship, 197.
- Lovelace, Francis (1618?-1675?), Governor of New York, 211.
- "Low, Cornelius the big," 219.
- Low, Cornelius P., of New York, 219.
- Lugg, Charles, of New York, 220.
- Luttrell, Henry Lawes, second Earl of Carhampton (1743-1821), 106.
- Lynn (Massachusetts), 11.
- McArdell, James (1729?-1765), mezzotint engraver, xv.
- Macarony.
- "New Method of Macarony Making," 93.
- Definition of term, 94.
- Macaulay, Mrs. Catherine, afterwards known as Catherine Macaulay Graham (1731-1791), 306-308.
- McDougall, Alexander, "the American Wilkes," 1731-1786, 205, 208, 210, 218-219, 222.
- Magna Charta, xii, 107, 113, 115, 270.
- Malcomb, John.
- Tarred and feathered, 77-82.
- Cartoons, 82-86, 93-95, 122.
- His case one of reasons given for punishment of Bostonians by House of Commons, 132.
- Manchester (England), 8, 300, 316.
- Mansfield (Connecticut), agreement, 62.
- Mansfield, William Murray, first Earl of (1705-1793).
- Cartooned, 47.
- Toast to, 90.
- Advocates Port Bill, 136-137.
- Manufactures.
- Colonial, 9-11, 86, 265, 274, 269-301.
- English, xiii, 27, 296, 299-301.
- Marblehead (Massachusetts), 163, 164.
- "Marcus Aurelius," "Dialogue," signed, 1765, 13-14.
- Maryland, 10, 27, 281.
- Maryland, Assembly of, 30.
- Massachusetts-Bay.
- Charter, 27.
- Convention in Faneuil Hall, Sept. 22, 1768, 60.
- Massachusetts-Bay.—(Continued.)
- Presence of soldiers a source of irritation, 61, 68.
- Wilkes advocated as Governor, 121.
- Bills aimed at, 142-152.
- Massachusetts Bay, Assembly of.
- Protests against Stamp Act, 7.
- Contemplates erection of statue to Pitt, 30.
- Protests to King against Acts of 1767, 56-57.
- Sends circular letter to Colonies, 57.
- Speaker and clerk elected to like offices in convention held in Faneuil Hall, 60.
- Contest with Governor, 69.
- Philadelphia Resolutions adopted, 73.
- Referred to by *Kentish Gazette*, 139-140.
- Meets at Salem and is dissolved, 167.
- Massachusetts Gazette*, 308.
- Medal, "Frangimur si Collidimur," 26.
- Mercer, Col. George, of Virginia, 231, 238.
- Merchants.
- Resolutions concerning, in Williamsburg convention, 266-267.
- Meredith, Sir William (1724-1790), 228.
- Mezzotints.
- See Cartoons.
- Michigan, 146.
- Middlesex, County of, England, xii, 104, 106, 121, 154.
- Middlesex Journal*, xxii, 26, 119, 166, 203, 210-211, 260-269, 310-311.
- Miller, John, publisher, 120.
- Ministry, English.
- Lesson of Stamp Act not learned, 41.
- Attempt to take additional revenue, 48.
- Letter from Massachusetts-Bay Assembly, 57-58.
- Denounced by Press for order to rescind Circular Letter, 58.
- Attitude of English Press toward, 64-67.
- Weak step, 67.
- Ridiculed by cartoonist, 94.
- Power called into play against Wilkes, 101.
- Predicament in Wilkes affair, 101-105.
- Motives in Port Bill attacked, 137.
- Jealousy of rights of Colonies, 142.
- Quebec Bill 146.
- Denunciation on account of Bill, 151.
- America takes up gauntlet against, 166-167.

## THE BOSTON PORT BILL

### Ministry.—(*Continued.*)

- Effect of New York sympathy with Boston, 211-212.
- Feeling antagonistic to, in Colonies, 285.
- "Miss Macaroni and her Gallant at a Print-shop," cartoon, *xvi*.
- Mohawks, 192, 201.
- Montagu, Virginia agent, 228.
- Morland, George (1763-1804), painter, *xv*.
- Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser*, 311, 313-315.
- Mourning, Curtailment of expression of, in dress, 9.
- Murray's Wharf (New York), 200, 202.
- Nahant Point (Massachusetts), 126.
- "Nancy," the tea ship, 196.
- "Nauticus," Article signed, 180-183.
- Navy, English, 292.
- Nelson, William, of Virginia (1711-1772), 248.
- New England Colonies.
  - Sheep and cattle sent to Boston, 164.
  - Efforts to restrict trade with England, 296-299.
- New Jail (New York), *xxix*, 219.
- New London (Connecticut), 113.
- "A New Method of Macarony Making," cartoon, 93.
- New York.
  - Economies practiced, 10-11.
  - Tea ships sent to, 70.
  - Disregard of her claims, 146.
  - Transports despatched to, 170.
  - Incident and cartoon of the "Patriotic Barber," 179-180, 183, 214-218.
  - Discord in political sentiments, 183-184.
  - Sons of Liberty enforce Non-Importations Agreement, 185-190.
  - "New York Tea Party," 190-202.
  - Reception of news of passage of Port Bill, 204.
  - Loyalty to Non-Importation Agreement, 205.
  - Meeting held, July 6, 208-209.
  - Her conciliatory governors, 210.
  - Material assistance sent to Boston, 211.
  - Action in sending Deputies to Congress at Philadelphia, 210, 211.
- New York, Assembly of.
  - Protests against Stamp Act, 7.
  - Votes statue to George III, 29-30.
  - Votes statue to Pitt, 30-32.

### New York.—(*Continued.*)

- Legislative powers suspended, 53-54.
- Attacked by McDougall, 218.
- New York Journal or the General Advertiser*, 32, 77, 271.
- Newberne (North Carolina), *xxix*, 313.
- Newfoundland, 168.
- Newport (Rhode Island), 302, 310.
- Nicholas, Robert Carter, of Virginia (1715-1780), Treasurer of Virginia, 1766-76, 242-243, 268-269.
- Non-Importation.
  - Associations revived, 56.
  - Examples of merchants of Boston, 61.
  - Difficulties in maintaining agreement, 68.
  - Associations dismembered, 68.
  - Opponents tarred and feathered, 87.
  - Agreements revived, 150.
  - Agreements enforced by Sons of Liberty in New York, 185-190.
  - New York Deputies to projected Congress instructed upon Agreements, 209.
  - Influence of New York Committee of Correspondence and Committee of Mechanics on delegates to Congress, 210.
  - Enthusiasm for, in Virginia, 232.
  - Associations formed in Virginia, 234.
  - Women's connection with, 293.
  - Effect upon Colonial manufacturers, 299-300.
- North, Frederick, second Earl of Guilford (1732-1792).
  - Portrait, *xxvi*.
  - Burned in effigy, 42.
  - Cartooned, 46.
  - Prediction fulfilled, 67-68.
  - Toast to, 90.
  - Presents Port Bill to Commons, 125-126.
  - Reasons for Bill, 133-134.
  - Satire upon, 138-139.
  - Satirical Tribute to, in *Kentish Gazette*, 140.
  - Alluded to in Ballad "The Boston Bill," 153.
  - Cartoon reference, 175.
  - General Gage to, 205.
  - Reads Governor Dunmore's letter in House of Commons, 271.
  - Spleen vented against, 320.
- North Briton*, edited by John Wilkes, 95-99, 101.
- North Briton*, No. 45, April, 23, 1763, 95-99, 101-103.

# INDEX

- North Carolina, Assembly of, 7, 312, 313.  
 Northampton (Virginia), County of, 231.  
 Norwich (Connecticut), 113.  
 Numerical Symbolism, 40-41.  
     "92," 58.  
     "45," 95, 112, 113, 114.  
 Ohio, 146.  
 Old South Church (Boston), 75.  
 Oliver, Richard (1734?-1784), 119-120.  
 Otis, Mr. James (1725-1783), 39.  
 Parliament.  
     American policy, xii-xiii, xxi.  
     Act imposing new duties, 1764, 3.  
     Act denying Colonial plans of exemption from taxation, 52.  
     Acts of 1767, 52-53.  
     Act compelling Colonies to billet Royal troops, 53.  
     "Farmer's Letters," quoted in, 55.  
     Address to King assuring support against Massachusetts-Bay, 62, 232.  
     Duties, save that on tea, repealed, 67, 69  
     Duty on tea remitted to relieve East India Company, 70.  
     Wilkes affair, 100-106.  
     Dissolution demanded, 108.  
     Boston Port Bill, 126-137.  
     Bill concerning quartering of troops, 145.  
     Effort to secure repeal of tea duty, 146.  
     Quebec Bill, 146-147.  
     Platform recommended by Bill of Rights Society, 154.  
     Ship-money tax, 292.  
     "Parson's Cause," 279.  
     "The Patriotic Barber of New York, or the Captain in the Suds," cartoon, 179-183, 214-218.  
 Pennsylvania, Assembly of, 7.  
*Pennsylvania Chronicle and Universal Advertiser*, 54.  
 Philadelphia (Pennsylvania).  
     Resolutions on importation of tea, 70-72, 73, 195.  
     Meeting of Continental Congress, 269-271.  
 Pitt, William, first Earl of Chatham (1708-1778).  
     Opposition to Stamp Act, 11.  
     Gratitude to, expressed in *London Chronicle*, 28.  
     Statues, xxix, 28-33, 68.  
     Statuette by Duesbury, xxviii, 33.  
     Celebration portrait, 40.  
     Temporary retirement, 52.  
     Replaced as Prime Minister by Bute, 96-97.  
 Pitt, William.—(*Continued.*)  
     Brother-in-law of Grenville, 98.  
     Attitude toward *North Briton*, No. 45, 101.  
     Toward Wilkes, 107.  
     Combats passage of Port Bill, 136.  
     On Quebec Bill, 148-149.  
     On Mrs. Macaulay, 307.  
 Poem on Repeal of Stamp Act, 36-38.  
 "A Political Lesson," cartoon, 156-159.  
 Pope (Pius V), 147, 319, 320.  
 Popery.  
     *See* Quebec Act.  
 Pope's "Essay on Man," parodied, 102.  
 Port Bill.  
     *See* Boston Port Bill.  
 Porteous, John, Captain of Edinburgh City Guards, 141-142.  
 Presbyterian Church in New York, 184.  
 "Presbyterian junto," 185.  
 Press, Liberty of the, 98, 119.  
 "The Pretender,"  
     *See* Bute, John Stuart, third Earl of.  
 Preston, Captain William (1729-1783), 131.  
 Princeton College, 241.  
 Prints.  
     *See* Cartoons.  
*Public Ledger*, xxiii.  
 Pulline, Major, 188.  
 Quebec.  
     Sends wheat to Boston, 164.  
     Transports despatched to, 170.  
     "Letter to the Inhabitants of the Province of," 269.  
 Quebec Act, 146-152, 155, 320.  
 "Rationalis."  
     Article signed, 16-17.  
     Card beginning, 66-67.  
 Religious tolerance, 279-280.  
 Revenue laws, 75.  
 Revere, Paul (1735-1818), 112.  
 Revolution, American, 312.  
 Rhode Island, 248.  
 Rhode Island, Assembly of, 7, 12.  
 Richmond (Virginia), 245.  
 Richmond, Charles Lennox, third Duke of (1735-1806), 136.  
 Rome, Church of.  
     *See* Quebec Act; Pope (Pius V).  
 Roxbury (Massachusetts), 302.  
 Royal Governors, salaries, 57.  
 "Rule Britannia," American parody on, 173-174.  
 "The Sailor's Address," song published in *London Evening Post*, 1775, 181-183.  
 St. George's-Field Prison affair, 105, 118.

## THE BOSTON PORT BILL

- Saint Paul's Chapel (New York), **xxix**, 185.  
 Salem (Massachusetts), 156, 159, 163, 167.  
 Sandwich, John Montagu, fourth Earl of (1718-1792).  
     Cartooned, 46.  
     Attack on Wilkes, 46, 102.  
 Sandy Hook (New York), 197, 199, 200.  
 Sayer, Messrs. Robert (d. 1794) and Bennett, J., publishers and printsellers, **xix**, **xx**, 82, 173.  
 Sears, Isaac, of New York (1729-1786), 205, 210, 212, 218, 222.  
 "Series of Resolves," made by Continental Congress, 269.  
 Seven Years' War (1756-1763), 4.  
 Sheep.  
     Williamsburg resolution concerning, 265.  
     New York encourages breeding for wool, 300.  
 Ship-money tax, 290-292.  
 Slave trade, Resolution of Convention of Fairfax County, 259-260, 264.  
 Smith, John Raphael (1752-1812), engraver, **xv**.  
 Smollett, Tobias George (1721-1771), **xv**, 97.  
 Society of Patriotic Ladies at Edenton, 293, 311, 313-316.  
 "A Society of Patriotic Ladies, At Edenton in North Carolina," cartoon, 316-319.  
 "A Song by the Tory Ministry," 206-208.  
 Sons of Liberty.  
     Origin of term, 15.  
     In Providence, 14-16.  
     In Boston, 36-40, 112-119.  
     In Farmington, 162.  
     In New York, 180-222.  
 South Carolina, 218.  
 South Carolina, Assembly of.  
     Statue to Pitt, 30, 31.  
     Letter from supporters of Bill of Rights, 109-112.  
     Sends rice to Boston, 164.  
 Springfield (Massachusetts), 301.  
 Stamp Act.  
     Protest against, by Assemblies, 7, 312.  
     Protest against, by Colonial Congress, 27, 183.  
     Repeal, Mar. 17, 1766, 27-28.  
     Statues of George III and Pitt commemorating, 28-33.  
     Delight in England, 33-34.  
     Delight in America, 34-35.  
     Celebrations, 35-41.  
 Stamp Act.—(*Continued*).  
     Number of votes for repeal, 41.  
     Lesson of, not learned by Ministry, 41.  
     Reasons for repeal, 51.  
     Dangers revived, 63.  
     Dempster's opposition, 134.  
     Virginia's petition and resolutions on proposal of the Act, 227-231.  
     Virginia's condemnation, 232.  
     Refusal to trade with England meant loss of comforts to Colonies, 299.  
 Stamp Duties, resolutions concerning, 5.  
 Stamp Office, burning of, 14.  
 Stamp Officers.  
     Burning in effigy, 14.  
     Resignation, 14, 16.  
 Statues.  
     Of George III, 29-30, 32-33.  
     Of Pitt, **xxix**, 28-33.  
     Of Lord Botetourt, **xxix**, **xxx**, 243-248.  
 Statuettes.  
     Of Pitt, **xxviii**, 33.  
     Of Wilkes, **xxviii**, 107.  
     Of Mrs. Macaulay, 307.  
 Symbols.  
     "Living snake," **xxix**, 270.  
     "Disjointed snake," 270.  
 Symbols, Numerical, 40-41.  
     "92," 58.  
     "45," 95, 112, 113, 114.  
 Tarring and feathering.  
     "An American custom," 87-90, 121, 132-133.  
     "Reigning Toast," 90.  
     *See also* Malcomb, John.  
 Taxation.  
     Colonial Assemblies claim of exemption from, denied by Parliament, 52.  
     Representation demanded by Bill of Rights Society, 154.  
     House of Burgesses upon, 253.  
     *See also* Duties; Stamp Act; Tea; Ship-money tax.  
 Tea.  
     Tax imposed, 52.  
     Tax retained, 67.  
     Action of Colonies, 69-70.  
     Sent to Charleston, Philadelphia, New York and Boston, 70.  
     Philadelphia resolutions, 70-72, 73.  
     "Boston Tea-Party," 72-76, 308.  
     Reports of destruction reach England, 125.  
     Failure to secure repeal of duty, 146.  
     Bostonians refuse to pay for, 151.  
     Story of attitude of New York towards shipment of, 190-202.

# INDEX

- Tea.—(*Continued*).  
 Virginia recommends disuse of, 252-253.  
 Resolution of Williamsburg Convention, 264.  
 Ruse to demonstrate before House of Commons the sympathy of English women with Colonies, 286.  
 Discontinuance of, and makeshifts for, an all-absorbing topic, 294-296.  
 Attempts to cultivate, in America, 299.  
 Disuse general after Boston Tea Party, 308.  
 Resolutions of ladies of Boston, 308-309.  
 Reception of tea-ships in Virginia, 319-320.  
 Temple, Earl (Richard Grenville Temple) (1711-1779), 98, 100.  
 Theatre Royal, Covent Garden (London), 89.  
 Thomson, Charles, of Philadelphia (1729-1824), 21-22, 25, 293.  
 Thompson, R., printer, 119-120.  
 "To the Betrayed Inhabitants of the City and Colony of New-York," pamphlet by Alexander McDougall, 218.  
 Tobacco, 10, 265, 267-268.  
 Tooke, John Horne (1736-1812), 114.  
 Tory paper, xxii.  
 Town Meetings in England, 108.  
 Townsend, Charles (1725-1767), introduces Act imposing new duties, 1767, 52.  
 Trade.  
 Revival after repeal of Stamp Act, 41.  
 England's loss of American trade, 61.  
 Difficulty of maintaining agreements against trade with England, 68.  
 Effect of Port Bill in Boston, 163.  
 Williamsburg Convention Resolutions, 266-267.  
 New England's efforts to restrict, 296-299.  
 See also Commerce, English; Commerce, American.  
 Tree of Liberty, 270.  
 Trial by Jury.  
 See Jury.  
 Tryon, William (1725-1788), Governor of New York, 203; of North Carolina, 312.  
 Upham, Joshua, of Brookfield, 301.  
 Van, favors Port Bill, 135.  
 Van Dyke, John, New York, 212, 219.  
 Van Zandt, Jacobus, of New York, 210, 221, 222.  
 Vaughn, Samuel, 281.  
 Vice-Admiralty Courts, 5, 6.  
 Virginia.  
 Economies practiced, 9-11.  
 Charter, 27.  
 Measures of aid for Boston, 60, 164, 256-269.  
 Disregard of claims by Ministry, 146.  
 Record assuring, to Boston, 225.  
 Church of England in, 225.  
 Claim of exemption from taxation, 226.  
 Story of her seal, 226-227.  
 Petition upon proposed Stamp Act, 227.  
 Remonstrance to House of Commons, 227-228.  
 Challenge to Parliament, 228-231.  
 Passes resolution asserting rights of Colony, 232-233.  
 Governorship of Botetourt, 233-243.  
 Statue to Botetourt, 243-248.  
 Lord Dunmore succeeds Botetourt as Governor, 248.  
 Action with regard to Port Bill, 249-256.  
 Attitude toward slave trade, 259-260.  
 Convention at Williamsburg, 260-269.  
 Manufactures, 265-274.  
 Defiant attitude of, 275-296.  
 Feminine economy in dress, 303.  
*Virginia Gazette*, 164-167, 226, 241, 249-253.  
 Virginia, House of Burgesses of.  
 Protests against Stamp Act, 7.  
 Resolutions passed against Stamp Act, 16, 227-231.  
 Resolution on taxation, 232-233.  
 Botetourt's address, 235-236.  
 Approval of statue to Botetourt, 244.  
 Takes steps to unite a nation, 248-254.  
 Favors religious tolerance, 279-280.  
 Ball in honor of Lord Botetourt, 303-304.  
 Virginia, House of Burgesses of (the building), xxx, 245, 304.  
 Vredenburg, Jacob, the "Patriotic Barber," 214, 217.  
 Ward, William (1766-1826), engraver, xv.  
 Washington, George (1732-1799), 259.  
 Watson, James (1739?-1790), mezzotint engraver, xv.  
 Wedderburn, Alexander, first Earl of Rosslyn (1733-1805), cartooned, 47.

## THE BOSTON PORT BILL

- Wedgwood, Josiah (1730-1795), potter, xxviii, 25.  
 Wesleys, The, xvi.  
 West Indies, 164, 263, 264.  
 Wheatley, Francis (1747-1801), painter, xv.  
 Wheble, John, printer, 119-120.  
 Whig families, 96.  
 Whig party, 307.  
 White, Henry, fourth president Chamber of Commerce, N. Y., died in England 1786, 198.  
 Whitehall (London), xvi, 222.  
 Whitefield, George (1714-1770), divine, xvi.  
 Wilbraham (Massachusetts), 301.  
 Wilkes, John (1727-1797).  
     *Middlesex Journal*, his organ, xxii.  
     Attack upon, by Earl of Sandwich, 46 102.  
     Editorial attack upon, 63.  
     Editor of *North Briton*, 95-99.  
     Personal characteristics, 95-96.  
     Member of Parliament, 96.  
     Hatred of Scotch, 97.  
     Story of *North Briton No. 45*, 98-99.  
     Struggle with Parliament, Imprisonment, etc., 99-106.  
     Private press, 102.  
     Cartoons, portraits, statuette, etc., xxviii, 107.  
     Fares sumptuously in prison, 108.  
     Sympathy between his followers in England and America demonstrated, 109-112.  
     American demonstrations in his honor, 112-114.  
     Sheriff of London, 114.  
     Letter from prison to Boston Sons of Liberty, 117-119.  
     Mayor of London, 120.  
     Advertisement announces portrait of Wilkes in Bickerstaff's Almanack, 112.  
     Fruit of victories, 132.  
 Wilkes, John.—(Continued.)  
     "Father of the City," 140.  
     Demonstration in his favor after passage of Quebec Bill, 149-150.  
     Returned to Parliament, 1774, 154.  
     Pledges himself against Quebec Act, 155-156.  
     References to, in cartoon, 280-281.  
     Gifts from Colonies, 281-282.  
 William and Mary College, Williamsburg, Virginia, 240, 245.  
 Williamsburg (Virginia), 227, 254, 313.  
     Association of, 261.  
     Convention held at, 254, 260-275.  
     Cartoon, "The Alternative of Williams-Burg," 282.  
 Willett, Marinus, of New York, 220.  
 Wilson, William Charles (1750), engraver, xv.  
 Wilton, Joseph (1722-1803), sculptor.  
     Statues of Pitt, 31, 68.  
 Wisconsin, 146.  
 "The Wise Men of Gotham and their Goose," cartoon, 42-48.  
 Witherspoon, Rev. John (1722-1794), President of Princeton College, 241.  
 Women.  
     Letter from a lady in Williamsburg to a friend in London, 255-256.  
     In the cartoon "The Alternative of Williams-Burg," 282.  
     Their part in the dispute between Great Britain and the Colonies, 285-322.  
     Sentiment of, in England, 286-293.  
     Sentiment of, in the Colonies, 286, 293-299.  
     Society of Patriotic Ladies of Edenton in North Carolina, 293, 311-316.  
     In the cartoon, "Society of Patriotic Ladies," 316.  
 Wool, 300-301.  
 Wythe, George, of Virginia (1726-1806), 250, 280. *on*









E215  
.8  
H19

